

# The following article appeared in the 10/31/87 Kayhan Int'l (London) under the heading THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN:

Besides posing a grave political problem in today's world the Afghanistan issue is a new chapter in the course of the Islamic revolution against the arrogant powers and has many cultural, geographical, and ideological similarities with Islamic Iran.

The issue of Afghanistan is comparable to the Palestinian problem, being the result of expansion of global aggression in regard to the geopolitical significance of the two regions.

The occupation of Afghanistan eight years ago brought about the most intricate problem in Russia's foreign policy.

Posing as a supporter of liberation movements, due to its history of aid to Cuba and Nicaragua and Latin America and Mozambique and Congo in Africa, the Soviet Union was faced with the true and false definitions of Afghanistan in international associations (I.N. Non-Aligned Movement, and Islamic Conference) and its invasion of the Afghan territory. As a result, the impact of the socialist camp's propaganda was diminished.

Following Iran's evasion from the domination of the Western superpower as a result of the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979 which foiled the doctrine of the U.S. administration based on forming a safety belt (China, Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey) around Russia, and in the wake of the occupation of Afghanistan and the augmentation of Soviet military presence in international waters, the U.S. had to show an intensive reaction in the field of international diplomacy. The U.S. sought to establish relations with the internal movements of Afghanistan and further equipped Pakistan with modern arms in the meantime.

For further information about the Islamic movement's progress in Afghanistan against the socialist occupiers, we will make mention of the texture of the Afghan society.

**Natural Geography**  
Afghanistan has been called the heart of Asia. It is situated in the northern and eastern hemispheres. Its area is 647,497 square kilometers.

It is bounded north by Russian Turkistan, east by Kashmir; west by Iran, and southeast by Pakistan.

It has a warm and dry climate. Afghanistan has no outlet to the sea.

**Ethnopolitics**  
Its population is 22 million with over 4 million unemployed. The capital is Kabul. The type of government is (communist) democratic republic. The race is a combination of white and Mongoloid. The language is Persian and Pashto. The religion is Islam with the majority of people following the Sunni (Hanafi) school, 20 to 30% are Shi'as and a Buddhist minority.

The flag consists of three colors: black, green, and red. Herat, Kandahar, Balkh, and Mazari Sharif are the important towns of Afghanistan.

**Economic**  
Afghanistan is among the most impoverished countries of the world.

Its major resources are copper, zinc, iron, natural gas, and oil.

Its agricultural features are rice, wheat, and potatoes. The main livestock is sheep.

The currency is Afghani. Woollen, fabric, and electrical machinery are the main imports. Sheep skin's wool, dried fruit, and handicrafts are exported. Afghanistan lacks ports and railways.

**Historical Geography**  
A long time ago Afghanistan was a part of Persia.

During the rule of Nader Shah it was entrusted to his representative: Ahmad Abdali. After the assassination of Nader it was partitioned from Iran. From 1861 through 1919, that is to say for about 40 years Afghanistan was administered as a British colony.

In 1919 Afghanistan gained independence. Until 1974 when King Zahir Shah was overthrown in a coup the Afghan regime was monarchial.

Muhammad Daud Khan, the first king of Afghanistan, was overthrown in 1979 and the "Khalq" democratic party seized power through a coup d'état under the leadership of Nur Muhammad Taraki. Almost a year later Taraki was also pushed aside by Hafizullah Amin. A few months later Hafizullah Amin, too, was replaced by Karmal. At present, Najibullah, relying on the aid of the Soviet Union, is shedding the blood of Muslim Afghan women, children, and men more ruthlessly than ever before.

The socialist regime of Russia invaded Hungary in 1956 and occupied the territory of Czechoslovakia in 1968, thereby establishing its own socialist domination and trampling other nations' sovereignty under the boots of the Red Army.

Simultaneously with the culmination of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the expansion of the Islamic movement in the region, Russia which had already infiltrated and gained a foothold in the country, and approached the era of physical hegemony and presence. From a long time ago the Soviet Union had bared its covetous fangs for expanding its influence and gaining access to the warm waters of the Persian Gulf.

The Soviet government believed that the occupation of Afghanistan and subsequent provocation of "autonomous" claims in Iran and Pakistan's Baluchistan would pave the way for the Red Army. Perhaps in this way China could be encircled by the Russians.

After the participation of over 110,000 Russian troops as well as numerous armored divisions, artillery and MiG 23 and 25 bombers in this barbaric invasion, the communist borders of the Eastern superpower with Iran was extended to 500 kilometers.

However, with its military occupation of Afghanistan, Russia plunged into a quagmire from which there seems to be no rescue.

Several years before the coup, the heads of the Soviet-backed regime in Afghanistan had begun to infiltrate governmental offices and schools in order to prepare grounds for Marxist-Leninist thought in the public opinion. But this remained only a dream. Afghanistan of Asia, and Albania

of Europe, are among the few nations tyrannized by Marxist parties despite an overwhelming majority (over 85%) of Muslims.

**The U.S. Strategy**  
The U.S. has taken the best advantage of Russia's military occupation of Afghanistan. By increasing its active presence in Pakistan through the supply of atomic arms and exporting AWACS aircraft to that country, the criminal U.S. seeks to gain more "heritage" in the region.

The U.S. fears the rule of Muslim forces (followers of the policy of "neither East nor West") in Afghanistan. Meantime it is opposed to the Russian presence in the neighborhood of Pakistan.

Seeking to bring Western-inclined and "liberal" forces to power in Afghanistan (such as the "moderates" and "the rescue front") the U.S. attempts to form a chain, made up of Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and reactionary Arab states, around Iran in order to prevent the export and spread of the revolution in the region.

In order to reach this aim the U.S. supports secular nationalists and feudal lords and attempts to incite the Islamic Iran to invasion of Islamic Afghanistan by intensifying the Afghan-imposed war and the Persian demand for the return of the land, by fanning the flame of religious tensions and clashes in Pakistan and India, the U.S. tries to divert the concern and enthusiasm of the Pakistanis from the Afghan issue which arose from Islamic solidarity.

**The U.S. Has Entered the Arena With Two Arms**

1. Saudi Arabia: There is no doubt that with the servitude and obedience of the Zionist-Saudi regime to the U.S., the Saudis have entered the Afghan issue by means of petro-dollars. By supporting such parties as "the Islamic Party," "Siaf," "the Islamic Association," and "the Revolution Movement" of Molawi Muhammad Nabi Muhammad, Saudi Arabia attempts to divert the inclination to the Islamic Republic. The Saudis have sought to absorb the Afghan opponents of Russia in Pakistan by giving them financial aid, medicine and food and building a hospital by the Red Cross under the auspices of the Saudi Embassy in Pakistan. The Saudi press and distribute anti-Shi'a books propagating Wahabism in Pakistan. It should be remembered that several institutes of Western countries are also involved in this project as the I.C.O. of Italy, the I.R.C. of the U.S., and the C.I.Z. of Germany.

2. Pakistan: Trying to attract the Afghan situation and to keep it going with arms like Stinger missiles (which are indirectly supplied by the U.S., in fact), Zia-ul-Haq attempts to divert the Afghan forces from the "neither East nor West" policy and reserves a special place for himself in the future regime of Afghanistan.

3. Afghanistan: Over 2 million war-stricken Afghans live in a border province in Pakistan, the Pakistan government has assumed a

kind of guardianship vis-a-vis the issue of Afghanistan in the Geneva Conference. **Consequences of Occupation**

1- The Soviets have reached a dead end. They committed political suicide with the blunder of invading Afghanistan.

They have been unsuccessful under the thrust of the democratic regime which succeeded Daud Khan. The famed puppets of Russia have been unable to solve even the smallest economic and political problems of Afghanistan.

Following the Russian occupation of Afghanistan the Soviet's "revolutionary prestige" was questioned and the liberation movements which were partly under the umbrella of the Soviet military and financial support began to doubt the event.

2- Military dead end: The Russian soldiers' unfamiliarity with the mountainous terrain of Afghanistan has immersed them in a quagmire, for classic warfare cannot work there.

3- Capture by their Islamic enemies: The Muslim people of Afghanistan have inflicted heavy damage on the Red Army in their heroic struggle against foreign occupation.

Some Soviet damages and losses are: over 20,000 soldiers dead, many fighters and helicopters downed, numerous light and heavy arms captured, and many Russian military men taken captive. In present, the Soviet war machine in Afghanistan has practically failed.

One of the ways for the Afghan Muslim Mujahideen to provide arms is to capture the occupier's military garms.

**The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan** has drawn the attention of a billion Muslims to a great suffering in the Muslim world. The Islamic leaders, religious scholars, and nations are concerned about the Afghan issue.

Meanwhile, Islamic Iran under the leadership of Imam Khomeini seeks to bring about a conclusive solution to the issue of Afghanistan following its policy of supporting the Muslim world's liberation movements. Islamic Iran has given refuge to over 1.5 million Afghans and is seriously concerned about the establishment of security in its eastern borders and the elimination of the aggressor's influence from the Islamic country.

Briefly we can conclude that both the Americans and Soviets have agreed on the "non-Islamic" solution of the future regime of Afghanistan. Today the Muslim people of Afghanistan are being wronged more than ever before, for attempts are made to overshadow the Islamic nature of their movement.

**What Should the Afghan Do?**

1- Preserve the Islamic leadership.

2- Expel the occupiers unconditionally.

3- Establish the system of government demanded by the Muslim majority through a violent struggle.

4- Keep away from internal and sectarian clashes. And due to its Islamic revolutionary obligation, Islamic Iran should afford financial, ideological, and diplomatic support to the Muslim strugglers as they have been all along.

## US charges Soviets harassed diplomat

WASHINGTON — The State Department charged yesterday that a US diplomat stationed in Afghanistan was deliberately mistreated and harassed by Soviet troops in Kabul, the Afghan capital. State Department spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley said, "On Dec. 8, Edmund McWilliams, a US Embassy official in Kabul, was stopped and held at gunpoint by Soviet soldiers who falsely accused Mr. McWilliams of photographing a military convoy." She said he did not have a camera.

Boston Globe 12/17

A Moscow newspaper has complained that some of the lower class Soviet citizens are being pushed in the war while children of well-to-do people are enjoying rest at home. This negative attitude is one of the developments which are fanning the speculation that the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev may take a big step very soon.

PT 11/27



## King of Cashmere

When it comes to cashmere, the president of Dawson's American on a par with Ballantine or Fringle to mention two well-known labels. In fact, Dawson, a British company, owns those labels and more: goat farms in Australia; sorting, cleaning, dyeing and yarn-spinning factories in Scotland and knitting factories in Scotland and Hong Kong.

According to Irwin Joffe, the president of Dawson's American subsidiary, these properties make the company, which had 1986 sales of \$25 million (about \$60 million at current exchange rates), the world's biggest cashmere user. "We control 40 percent of world cashmere output," Mr. Joffe said.

Lately, though, a cashmere shortage has been reported. But the word shortage is shorthand for a more complex situation. Cashmere comes from Kashmir goats, raised mainly in China, Afghanistan and Iran. The last two sources are problematic, and China has lately become a problem, too, because of economic decentralization in China. "The same number of goats exist," Mr. Joffe said, "but you need to know your way around."

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# Soviet Terrorism in Afghanistan

New reports on human rights violations in Afghanistan prove that Russian agents supervise the torture and interrogation of many Afghan political prisoners. Many victims give accounts of various methods of torture being administered during interrogations in Afghan jails, on instructions from Russian supervisors. Methods of extracting confessions range from severe beating, to electrical shocks and other forms of abuse. A woman was reported being locked in a cell in which the body of a dead victim lay on the floor. Another victim spoke of a Russian supervisor instructing Afghan interrogators to administer electrical shocks to sensitive parts of his body.

Although in most cases, the Russian supervisors do not seem to apply torture personally, there is no doubt that they encourage it on a wide scale in Afghan jails to extract confessions from political prisoners about their political activities and opposition activities.

**Without Food**  
At least 90,000 prisoners are being locked up in appalling prison conditions and concentration camps run by the Khat secret police in Afghanistan. The Jamiat-e Islami commander, Ferozuddin Fakhri, had told news reporters in an interview after his release that prisoners are kept without food for days while some undergo torture. Afzai was freed from a Herat jail after four years detention last July. He said that a great number of political prisoners were killed due to severe tortures while their relatives remained unaware of their fate. Afzai also disclosed that there is an average of one,000 political detainees in every Afghan province but 60,000 Afghan prisoners are being kept in Pul-e Charkhi prison in Kabul which is four times more than the jail's capacity. The majority of the Afghan political prisoners are being detained without having been tried.

Afzai gave details of his own arrest saying that he and 30 other Afghan Mujahideen were captured during an operation in the Dashi-e Marza area of Herat on the morning of April 21, 1983. He was tortured in a Khat interrogation camp for about six months and later sent to the prison in Herat. The Mujahideen commander said that the Russians have released some prisoners after announcing the so-called "cease-fire and national reconciliation program." The process of releasing the prisoners was stopped when the Mujahideen and the Afghan people rejected the Russian propaganda campaign.

The Afghan villagers would not be completely without Russian ingredients. These include torture, bombardment of rural areas accused of opposing the communist regime in Kabul, and providing the surrogate regime of Najibullah with all forms of logistic and political support.

**Civilians Martyred**  
Last month, Russians were reported to have launched a mas-

sive military operations in Afghanistan's Logar Valley where 74 Afghan civilians were martyred and 150 houses reduced to rubble by Soviet bombing in the Baraki Barak, Muhammad Agha and Ab Chakan area. Hizbi-Islami sources gave details of the Soviet operation conducted between October 13 to 22, reporting that bombers by Soviet planes and shelling by armored units have caused severe damage to the rural localities of Qutab Khail, Zaqum Khail, Kolangar, Ab Josh, Bad Khab, Qala Khauk and Baboes. The sources also said that Soviet planes dropped 14 napalm bombs as a result of which new crops were destroyed and several cities were killed. Napalm bombs were also dropped at Bad Khab and Ab Josh but fortunately, the civilian population had already fled to the nearby mountains.

Amid these reports, there is no longer any doubt in many people's minds that Moscow's calls for a peaceful settlement to the Afghan problem are sheer propaganda. Babrak Karmal's expulsion last year can only be read as a sign that Moscow is getting tougher over Afghanistan, while paradoxically speaking of peace.

Since the withdrawal of the few thousand Soviet troops, bombardment of the rebel position has intensified, hardly a sign of seeking talks over the future of Afghanistan.

In the face of these developments, the Afghan Muslim Mujahideen are stepping up their military pressure on the Kabul regime. Unity of the ranks among the Mujahideen is the key to the Mujahideen was achieved lately with the formation of Afghan Mujahideen alliance. Muhammad Yunis Khalis, the alliance head during a recent trip to the United Nations dismissed reports of disunity among the alliance. He said during an interview, "... we must indicate that this is not an alliance only of seven or eight parties. It is the alliance of the whole Afghan nation, the unity of the whole nation. If the Soviets and the Communist Party were not an obstacle, obviously this (the alliance) would basically be the representative government of Afghanistan."

**U.N. Efforts Unacceptable**  
The head of the Afghan guerrilla alliance also denied that fighters under his command had sold any of their U.S.-made Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to Iran.

"Our cause is not to gain money... Our struggle is far beyond that," the guerrilla leader said through a translator at a news conference.

The rebel alliance wants the United Nations to give it the U.N. seat now occupied by the Moscow-backed Kabul government.

Khalis blamed Soviet propaganda for reports that Mujahideen had sold the shoulder-fired Stingers to Iran.

He also said the Mujahideen alliance will reject an attempt by U.N. mediator Diego Cordovez to establish contact between the Kabul government, which he describes as a Soviet "puppet regime."

Such contact would only enhance Soviet efforts to legitimize the Kabul government, he said.

Cordovez, a U.N. undersecretary-general, has been trying for five years to negotiate a peace settlement by shuttling back and forth between negotiators for Pakistan and the Kabul government.

Khalis said Cordovez has not invited the guerrillas to take part in the indirect negotiations.

The guerrilla chief said the Afghan Mujahideen alliance is skeptical about U.S. citizen Armand Hammer's private peace initiative. "We have suspicions about Dr. Hammer because he is a businessman," Khalis said.

Hammer, the head of California-based Occidental Petroleum, has met with high-ranking Soviet, Afghan and Pakistani officials, in an effort to persuade them to accept a coalition government that includes ex-king Nadir Shah.

Asked if the alliance would welcome the former king, Khalis said that once Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan, the Afghan people will decide what kind of government they want.

Khalis said the Pakistan-based guerrillas do not plan to set up a government in exile. He claimed the Mujahideen control 80% of their homeland and could "establish a government in Afghanistan tomorrow" if they could only set up solid defenses against air attacks.

In a related development, the spokesman of the Afghan Islamic coalition Hoiyatollahi Alami said Saturday (Nov. 14) international bodies should pressure the Soviet occupying forces to unconditionally withdraw from Afghanistan.

Issuance of any resolution by the United Nations in which the occupying country is not identified, cannot help solve the Afghan issue at all, he added. In a talk to the Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA), Hoi, Alami called for the expulsion of the Kabul regime's representative from the U.N., adding that a Mujahideen representative should replace him. The Muslim people of Afghanistan reject any condition for withdrawal of foreign forces from the country, which guarantees recognition of the illegal Kabul regime, Alami stressed.

## 1.12m Casualties

Based on a report issued last month in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, some 1 million and 100,000 Afghans have been martyred and another 400,000 disabled by the Communist occupiers of Afghanistan over the last nine years.

According to the Islamic Republic News Agency from Islamabad, the information prepared by the joint efforts of a Pakistani research institute, affiliated to the University of Geneva, and a number of other international organizations in connection to the number of casualties inflicted on Afghans over the last nine years was published by the Afghan News Agency in Islamabad.

According to this report the 9-year-old unjust war, imposed by the Communist occupier, has resulted in 1 million and 112,000 martyrs and 387,000 disabled. Of the 1 million and 112,000, 46% were martyred as a result of aerial bombings, 12% of artillery fire, 33% of bullet wounds, 3% of mine explosions, 2% of refugee transfer to refugee camps in different countries and 4% as a consequence of other incidents.

The report demonstrates that 6.6% of the people of Afghanistan have been martyred over the duration of the imposed war and 2.3% of the population has been permanently disabled.

It also demonstrates 10.1% of the male inhabitants of Afghanistan have so far been martyred majority of them at youthful ages during the same period. Of the total number of female deaths during the Communist reign 71% were martyred as a consequence of aerial bombings.

## Price Hike

The prices of essential commodities have risen many times in the Russian occupied territories in Afghanistan.

A group of Afghan troops from Khost garrison who joined the ranks of the Mujahideen reported that the price of tea is 2,000 Afghanis per kilo, rice 800 Afghanis per kilo, sugar 600 Afghanis per kilo, wheat 300 Afghanis per kilo, while salt is at the exorbitant price of 120 Afghanis per kilo. One U.S. dollar is equal to 170 Afghanis, but it should be borne in mind that the average monthly wage in Afghanistan is only 3000 Afghanis. Puppet-government employees receive these basic commodities at considerably subsidized prices.

It was learnt that essential commodities were sent to the

occupied areas by transport planes and helicopters but after constant attack and destruction by the Mujahideen's anti-aircraft missiles, supply has become very difficult.

#### Refugee Question

The problems which many refugees from Afghanistan encounter in either Iran or Pakistan are not over yet, although officials in both countries have pledged continuous support. Leaders of Afghan opposition forces are often deterred from assuming more active military roles by pressures stemming from concern over the welfare of Afghan rebel families in exile.

Scarce medical support and the livelihood of Afghan families in rebel areas are noticeable burdens. Sometimes, the Mujahideen refrain from launching an attack against Soviet troops in certain areas because of fear that such attacks may provoke brutal retaliation by the Soviets against the local population.

## 1.24 m people killed in Afghanistan

PARIS, Dec. 10: A French Government-financed report published on Tuesday in Paris said nine per cent of the Afghan population had been killed since the pro-Soviet government in Kabul took power in 1978.

Meanwhile, western diplomats said factional fighting in Kabul between Afghan government troops and those loyal to a former resistance commander left at least 37 soldiers and civilians dead last week.

The report by Marek Sliwinski, a Geneva University researcher, said 1.24 million Afghans—out of a population estimated at between 12 and 15 million people—have been killed since the current Kabul regime took power in April, 1978 and the Soviet intervention in December, 1979.

Mr. Sliwinski's study, is the first statistical report on the effects of the conflict and was made on the basis of information given by 1,300 Afghan families who have fled to Pakistan.

The study was financed by the French Secretary of State for Human Rights and several international aid organisations.

Mr. Sliwinski estimated that on the basis of "this representative section of the Afghan population" nine per cent had been killed, one

of the highest death rates in recent history, and five per cent wounded.

He said that 16 per cent were of the deaths were in 1984 and were mainly among the civilian population—with women and children being the main victims of bombardments.

The study said the worst-hit areas were on the Soviet border and around Kabul.

The reported estimate that five million Afghans have fled the country since the Soviet intervention—with three million in Pakistan and two million in Iran. Mr. Sliwinski added that there were also about 1.5 million inside Afghanistan.

He said the devastation was the result of "an ordered, conscious and planned policy" which was led to the "disintegration" of Afghan society.

Mr. Sliwinski's report highlighted that the rural population had dropped from 85 per cent in 1978 to 23 per cent today.—AFP.

#### Pakistan Times

December 11, 1987.

### LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Afghan Muslim guerrillas fighting Soviet troops occupying their country said last week the United Nations should stop playing games and implement resolutions that call for Soviet troops to withdraw from Afghanistan.

Amid tight securities at U.N. headquarters, the leader of Afghan resistance groups told a news conference that no peace agreement is acceptable without the participation of the resistance.

"A negotiated political situation is only possible when the Russians and the representatives of the Afghan Mujahideen sit down and discuss the issues," said Maulavi Yunis Khalis, newly elected president of the Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen.

Khalis said the estimated 115,000 Soviet troops that have occupied Afghanistan since December 1979 are not ready to go home and Soviet offers to discuss the issue in U.N.-mediated talks in Geneva are "tricks" to remain in the country.

"We request that Mr. (Diego) Cordovez stop playing this game and instead help implement U.N. General Assembly resolutions which have repeatedly called upon the Soviet Union for a prompt, total and unconditional withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan," Khalis said.

Khalis called the Geneva talks and the U.N. resolutions a "contradiction."

He claimed that the resistance now controls 80% of the country, leaving big cities to government forces.

Cordovez is the U.N. mediator who, in the past five years, has been conducting the indirect talks between the Afghan and Pakistani foreign ministers in Geneva.

Meanwhile, Afghan Muslim revolutionaries in a series of guerrilla attacks destroyed Jurvin government's office in Farah Province, late October.

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KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, NOV. 21, 1987



## War woes

"Gorbachev has been big on hints and teasers," says one Western diplomat close to the conflict, "but there's still nothing to bite on. He still holds up the Najibullah regime as the heart and soul of the Afghan motherland."

"He says he's anxious to get out of Afghanistan and the Americans are talking about an improved 'atmosphere' for Soviet withdrawal,

but there's still nothing of substance from the Russians."

Nothing, that is, in terms of ending the war: recent Red Army operations have, if anything, pointed to a hardening of Soviet resolve against the Mujahideen. In late October, Soviet forces converged from bases in Kabul, Ghazni and Gardes on the thinly-populated farming district with air-supported armoured columns totalling more than 600 vehicles. The two-week operation — a reprisal for the ambush and killing by the Mujahideen of a leading Afghan government militia commander — reportedly degenerated from a search-and-destroy mission into the razing of suspect villages by long-range artillery and aerial bombardment.

More than 250 civilians are feared dead, and 200 families have fled to the overcrowded refugee camps of Pakistan. They join what United Nations statistics confirmed to be the largest exodus of refugees from war since 1945.

The guerrillas are waiting and watching. Boosted by their acquisition of sophisticated anti-aircraft missiles and the capture of several Soviet garrisons, the Mujahideen are ready for a ninth year of war with the Red Army, confident at last that which eludes Najibullah, the hapless captive king of Kabul: a change in the fortunes of war. p. 12/22

# US humanitarian aid under fire

By Edward Girardet  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Garem Chashma, Pakistan-Afghanistan border

Packhorses, loaded with rockets, mortars, and nonlethal equipment, were preparing to leave before snow closed the mountain passes. They were to be the last of 7,000 animals to depart this year for resistance fronts in north Afghanistan.

"We're going to different parts. Badakshan, Panjshir, Kunduz," a caravan driver said. "There is already snow, but *parawind* [no matter]."

But only two weeks earlier, in fact, several *majahideen* accompanying other caravans had died from the bitter cold.

Many Afghans still lack proper shoes, warm clothes, or sleeping bags—despite the enormous amounts of largely American-sponsored cross-border aid destined for the resistance.

The distribution of United States humanitarian aid is hampered by several

problems. According to international aid representatives, resistance sources, and independent observers, they include:

- Ineffective American management and monitoring of aid that is supposed to reach the resistance inside Afghanistan.
- Inability of Pakistan-based Afghan resistance parties to distribute and monitor aid properly.
- Corruption within sectors of the Afghan resistance, as well as among Pakistani officials and other intermediaries.
- Little aid supplies for personal profit.
- Ignorance or disregard by the US Agency for International Development (AID), which provides humanitarian aid, of the realities and conditions among the internal guerrilla resistance.
- High administrative costs.

Congress wanted an overt program giving and appropriated funds without giving much thought to where it's all supposed to go, says one US relief coordinator of the AID program, which was set up in April 1985, more than five years after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan.

The aid—and where some of it goes

The US provided an estimated \$715 million in military and humanitarian assistance to the Afghan resistance for fiscal year 1987. Of this amount, roughly \$670 million was "covert" military aid supplied by the US Central Intelligence Agency. Humanitarian assistance of \$40 million, as well as \$10 million provided under the so-called McCollum amendment that allowed for the delivery of nonlethal Army surplus to war-affected Afghans, was funneled through AID. For fiscal year 1986, Congress is expected to appropriate \$45 million in humanitarian aid.

Many observers believe that no more than 25 percent—some say as little as 15 percent—of the American humanitarian aid destined for the resistance is reaching the interior. "I think we would be very happy if it was 30 percent," says an American official in Pakistan privately.

The CIA's military spending includes the highly effective Stinger missiles—is thought to have a somewhat better success rate, with half to three-quarters of its aid getting through.

A substantial proportion of the US commodity aid is being sold in bazaars or within the resistance. Pakistani officials and other intermediaries. Resistance and relief sources say so much US equipment is diverted that private voluntary organizations often end up purchasing Amer-

ican sleeping bags, flak jackets, and boots from bazaar dealers selling American goods originally destined for free distribution inside Afghanistan.

A \$15 million AID effort to ship 47,000 tons of milled wheat into Afghanistan over two years has run into snags. Relief representatives and observers recently back from Afghanistan say most of the grain is sold on the frontier. Some critics question the wisdom of even sending in grain. Harvests in so-called liberated areas have been good, and undulating the market with free wheat would disrupt the fragile agricultural economy.

"Fortunately, as most of the intended aid never crossed into Afghanistan, its destructive possibilities have not yet come about," says a West European aid worker. "But this should have been considered before the program was designed."

In many critics' eyes, Washington's use of aid to bolster the

seven-party Afghan alliance in Peshawar constitutes a contradictory contribution. The aid was carried out at the expense of an effective humanitarian aid operation.

"We have a diversity in objectives here," says Peter Rees of Britain's Afghan Aid, one of about 12 private groups involved in cross-border aid. "We're looking toward humanitarian relief, whereas I feel the US aid package is more politically motivated. This is putting a lot of money in the political arena and away from direct humanitarian aid."

Do political aims jeopardize relief?

Since 1985, AID has directed much of its funding toward setting up a highly ambitious resistance administration to counter the Kabul regime. But US contractor agencies are helping the alliance to establish health, education, agricultural, and social programs in resistance areas. The idea is that the Peshawar-based parties will eventually assume control of all cross-border humanitarian operations.

But foreign relief workers and observers with experience inside Afghanistan warn that excessive reliance on the political parties could seriously threaten the international aid effort. Many say the parties lack the capabilities or interest to run an effective cross-border operation.

In recent years, the external parties have lost much credibility among both Afghan refugees and inside commanders—and are also engaged in power struggles. Millions of aid dollars from the US, Saudi Arabia, and other countries have already turned Peshawar into a boomtown, with party officials squandering available resources on office, salaries, visas, cars, and foreign bank accounts.

Many Afghans have become too comfortable and simply regard the Americans as benefactors. Arabs as much as Afghans are to be exploited, says an American private aid coordinator.

"We prefer to work with people from the inside," he says.

The US, from its point of view, has no choice but to operate through the external parties. The Mohammed Zia ul-Haq's government, which seeks to retain as much influence over the resistance as possible, has made this a condition for the resumption of US assistance through Pakistan.

"The Pakistanis insist we run it co-

vertly. They've got us in their pocket," a US official bemoans privately. Critics, however, say that is a lame excuse. If the US really wanted to work out a more flexible modus operandi, they say, the obstacles are not insurmountable. They suggest the US could use its direct aid to

Pakistan—about \$4.2 billion over a period of five years from 1987—as leverage. US assistance is channeled to the Pakistanis, who have representatives within the Afghan political alliance and ensure that aid is given primarily to parties of their choice. The bulk of the assistance, particularly military, goes to fundamentalist Islamic parties. Thus, US aid supports leaders who do not necessarily represent Western, or for that matter, Afghan interests.

In addition, the AID program, which is publicly funded and meant to be distributed overtly, has become a de facto covert operation. AID officials in Pakistan refuse officially to discuss its activities or divulge information available in the US according to official sources, a recent directive forbade AID personnel to talk or fraternize with journalists.

According to a US official in Pakistan, the US AID program has expert accountability of its operations. But accountability (is lacking). The private groups, he says, do not have detailed accounting procedures but have better accountability.

For the moment, most of the international humanitarian aid is channeled to the interior by private groups. According to relief sources, roughly \$10 million worth of medicine, "cash for food" programs, clothing, and technical equipment is being distributed directly to resistance commanders. Western coordinators or observers visit regularly to ensure the aid is reaching those it is supposed to.

What role for US?

AID, whose mandate does not permit American citizens to cross the border, coordinates many of these projects. But

voluntary agencies worry that Washington, which does not plan to increase its grants to them, is moving to channel more of its assistance through contractor programs controlled by the alliance rather than to spread the aid distribution.

Working directly with the inside resistance can mean dealing with hundreds of different commanders. Yet many relief representatives see this as the only way of reaching the people who need help.

The international aid community strongly feels that the US has a pivotal role. It is the financial backing that none of the Europeans can hope to muster. It also has the ability to set up the sort of training—medical, educational, or agricultural—which a postwar Afghanistan will desperately need.

Nevertheless, there is considerable apprehension that AID is seeking to dominate the entire relief effort. The US is already providing most of the military assistance. A takeover of the humanitarian side, too, would turn Afghanistan into a one-on-one superpower affair.

This would be a "major" move, an American representative. "It is important to keep this an international operation, to keep the Europeans deeply involved, particularly neutrals like the Swedes. This shows that everyone is concerned about the occupation. And that makes it harder for the Russians to stomach."

The Monitor will publish a series of articles assessing the Afghan situation later this month.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

DECEMBER 8, 1987

## Resistance successes lure some Afghans back

By Edward Girardet  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Nangarhar Province, Afghanistan  
The terraced fields near the Afghan-Pakistan border stand in ruins. The walls are smashed and crumbling, the roof beams charred from earlier helicopter assault or tank blasts. Only the towering walnut and mulberry

trees, their trunks ripped with shrapnel, loom over any sense of perseverance over once-carefully irrigated fields.

But as one penetrates deeper into Afghanistan, away from the frontier zones the occupying Soviet troops have tried to transform into wastelands, there are signs of life. Though the war damage is serious here, some houses are inhabited and fields are cultivated. By the time one reaches

the fertile valleys of the Jalalabad plain, the transition is complete.

Farms and villages bustle. The land is thickly planted with corn, rice, and sorghum, and the mud-and-stone compounds of houses and squawks with crows, doves, chickens, and goats. Few buildings have been repaired. Yet, it is difficult to imagine that only a year ago much of this area lay abandoned. "The last time I was here," said British cameraman Peter Jounval as we entered a village he had visited in late 1985, "all I saw were two cats and little else."

Today, the men, women,

and children have returned. Still only a scattered phenomenon among Afghanistan's frontier provinces, small groups of families, perhaps several

hundred in all, have been moving back from the refugee camps in Pakistan to the so-called liberated areas. While it is too soon to say whether the returnees will be permanent, they seem to be more so than earlier farmers. In the past, refugees have often crossed into Afghanistan during warm months to work the land, heading back for the winter.

The refugees have been coming home because they know we can protect them from enemy planes," declared Hajj Abdul Kadir, a leading Hizb-i-Islami (Islamic faction) commander in the region. Although he claimed not to have any Stinger missiles at the time, he gestured to the mountains around him. On each strategic top was



positioned an antiaircraft battery or heavy machine guns. "But it is not easy. These are poor people, and we are still fighting a war, even if things look quiet now."

The Afghan resistance alliance in Peshawar seems reluctant to admit that any of Pakistan's 3.2 million refugees are returning. "No one is going back," insisted alliance spokesman Mas'ud Younis Khales. The political parties fear the migration might be viewed as a response to the Soviet-backed Kabul regime's "national reconciliation" offer last January. Kabul claims that 100,000 refugees have returned to government-held areas.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) says it has no evidence of refugees leaving the camps. In fact, the Geneva-based organization maintains, several thousand Afghans a month are still fleeing the country, particularly from the northern provinces where there has been heavy bombing and fighting.

The UNHCR, however, relies on Pakistani statistics. Refugees could easily be returning, conceded one UNHCR representative, "but we won't know about it. The refugees would have to de-register. And if any have gone, they have probably left some family members behind to draw rations - just in case."

#### What draws Afghans back to their own country?

For Hajj Kadir, there is no question as to why people have decided to return.

"What life is that in a refugee camp? Their home is here. But they are not going back because of this 'national reconciliation.' This is a lie," Kadir, authoritative man, Kadir says he would like nothing better than to return to his previous job as a spare-parts merchant. But right now, he maintains, it is his duty to fight.

Kadir also believes it is good for the mujahideen that civilians are returning. "It is not only a better source of intelligence, he says, to know what the Soviet and Afghan government security forces are up to, but also for fear, that the mujahideen purchase from local farmers. "If there were no people, we would have to carry in our own supplies, which is expensive," he said.

For these reasons, resistance commanders in other parts of Afghanistan are trying to create and maintain conditions that will allow Afghans to remain.

#### Kabul claims success in wooing civilians

On the government side, officials of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) have been anxious to show the world that national reconciliation is working. Since January, the regime has staged numerous highly publicized "return to the fold" events in Kabul, Mazar-i-Sharif, and other Soviet-controlled towns for mujahideen or ordinary rural Afghans.

Party officials, under heavy guard, have turned up in villages to present local mullahs with money to rebuild mosques, while mujahideen have been invited to lay down their arms for a day and see for themselves what the revolution has achieved. In one reported incident, the revolution has achieved, in one reported incident, surprised Afghan women and elderly men on a weekly shopping trip at the Jalalabad bazaar found themselves politely but firmly whisked off in buses to a festive lunch and tour of government facilities, and then returned.

PDPA efforts, however, have generated little enthusiasm at the grass-roots level. Despite war fatigue, most Afghans do not seem willing to accept a peace at any price. The party's appeal to opposition elements and "neutrals" to join in a coalition government has failed because it insists on retaining a dominant role. Resistance parties as well as inside commanders interviewed by this correspondent consider this unacceptable.

Nevertheless, if there is ever to be a peaceful settlement to the war, some observers note, the resistance might have to consider some form of PDPA participation - even if only symbolic - to obtain Soviet pullout.

International relief organizations say over half of

Afghanistan's 24,000 villages have been partially or wholly devastated in the war. Almost every house, shop, and mosque in the areas of Nangarhar recently visited by this correspondent has suffered some damage, either from relentless bombing and fighting, or winter erosion.

#### Where and how most Afghans live today

Before the war began in December 1979, an estimated 86 percent of Afghanistan's 15 million to 17 million people lived off the land. Today, relief sources say, between one-third and a half of the rural population have fled their homes. Over 5 million have gone to Pakistan, Iran, and elsewhere; about 3 million have sought refuge internally in cities controlled by the Soviets or in resistance-held zones. Kabul's population, for example, has risen from 700,000 in 1978 to 2.5 million or more.

Supported by international aid organizations, resistance groups are seeking to improve the lot of the 5 million to 6 million civilians struggling for survival in the "liberated areas." As relief representatives point out, this means establishing more health clinics and schools as well as providing agricultural assistance.

Despite the difficulties, such efforts are already under way, and with some success. One resistance development plan, covering five northern provinces, already has emergency relief programs to help people stay. Now they are pushing for projects ranging from animal immunization to reforestation and road construction.

#### Providing for future generations

"What we are trying to do is provide a combination of emergency and basic development assistance to a country which is caught up in the midst of a devastating war," said Peter Rens of the British relief agency Afghan Aid. "It is sometimes difficult to even consider the long-term point of view when you have got to worry about people getting bombed or convoys ambushed. But we have got to think of the future."

For a largely rural society, the future means providing farmers with new animals, seeds, and fertilizers, repairing or building irrigation systems, even establishing agricultural cooperatives under resistance control.

More so than before, Afghans realize that they must provide for a new generation. According to observers, many educated Afghans have been killed or have fled. Resistance commanders now recognize that an educated mujahidee makes a far better fighter, and are actively encouraging the creation of schools inside Afghanistan.

Among Afghan refugees, there are still relatively few means to complete their studies. "There is a great, incredible frustration among young Afghans who have nowhere to go to become doctors or engineers," said Tom Isaacs of the International Rescue Committee, which runs a secondary education program in Peshawar. "There is a distinct danger of an entire generation missing out."

No more than 1,500 Afghan students have been allowed to enter Pakistani higher education institutions. International relief organizations are pushing for more education facilities, but it is said to fear that preferential treatment and resources will be given the Afghans, whose presence is already a source of resentment.

One unusual development, however, is the spate of mujahidee marriages that seems to be sweeping both inside of Afghanistan as well as the refugee camps. For a long time, many Afghans felt the war had to end first. But now the resistance parties are encouraging Afghans to marry and produce children. "It is an extremely encouraging trend," one west European diplomat said. "It shows they are thinking of the future. But it also shows that they are settling in for a long haul."

#### THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

DECEMBER 22, 1987

## BU dean says Afghan project to end

A Boston University project to train Afghan refugees as journalists divided the faculty over whether it compromised the journalism school's ethics, but its founder has been promoted to dean.

Seventy refugees were trained in electronic and print journalism in two, seven-week sessions designed to enable them to chronicle the Soviet invasion of their country. The training was funded with a \$500,000 grant from the US Information Agency.

Charges that the program compromised the ethics of the journalism school divided the faculty at Boston University, resulting in the resignation of Bernard S. Redmont, dean of the College of Communications.

Redmont, now dean emeritus, was replaced by H. Joachim Maitre, an East German defector who helped set up the Afghan program.

The program, conducted in Pakistan and originally scheduled to run for 18 months, will end next month after one year because all the Afghan journalists have been trained, Maitre said last week. The program, in which the students were taught photography and English, featured three university faculty members and three outside instructors, Maitre said.

"There are about 15 to 16 teams within Afghanistan right now," Maitre said, referring to university-trained Afghan journalists. "Their work has appeared in print in Japan, Pakistan, Finland, Sweden, and the Gulf States."

Despite criticism from within the university and elsewhere, Maitre has defended the program. Most of the controversy surrounding the training plan has faded, he said.

"Right now there's no strife at all," Maitre said. But journalism faculty member Bernard Buresh recently told a law school forum that those who had opposed the Afghan project had been harassed. Maitre showed up for the forum wearing a mask with a camouflage design. He removed the mask more than halfway through the discussion after professor Fred Stebbins said his behavior was crazy.

Maitre said he covered his face so he would not intimidate Buresh, who said administrators used "verbal violence" to intimidate students and faculty who disagree with administration views.

Opposition to the Afghan project has also come from off campus.

"I think it was a nutty idea," said Norman E. Isaacs, 73, a former newspaper editor and a visiting professor at Syracuse University. "The press ought never to be funded by the government - anywhere, anyhow, anywhere. Then what happens to the First Amendment?"

Editors at the university Daily Free Press have opposed the program since its inception. They also recently reported that the program, initially presented as the creation of Sen. Gordon Humphrey (R-N.H.) was partly formulated by Walter Raymond Jr., a former CIA propaganda specialist who worked with Oliver North on the National Security Council.

Charges that the program is propaganda or disinformation "has nothing to do with that at all," Maitre said. "We're simply teaching journalism over there."

Maitre also denied accusations that his background as an East German defector and right-wing sympathizer colored his work at Boston University and led him to promote the Afghan journalism project.

"I would do the same job in Nicaragua," Maitre said. "I'd love to go to Moscow and teach those at Pravda how to write a proper lead."

THE BOSTON GLOBE MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1987

By Dana Kennedy  
Associated Press



"National Reconciliation"  
from Afghanistan Info,  
#20, Oct. 1987.

# Noted Italian Journalist Captured by Afghan Communists

## Scribe-Colleague in First-Hand Account

BY RICHARD MACKENZIE  
The Washington Times Service

PESHAWAR, Pakistan, Dec. 7 — A young Italian journalist who won international recognition for his stories from Lebanon and Libya has been captured by communist troops in a remote region of Afghanistan.

Neither Afghan nor Soviet officials have announced or acknowledged the incident, which took place more than 3 weeks ago, raising concerns about the journalist's safety.

Fausto Biloslavo, 26, of the Albatross Press Agency in Trieste, Italy, is believed to have been taken to a secret police jail in Kabul, the national capital.

Experts say he is probably being interrogated at length by agents of KHAD, the Afghan secret service, aided by agents of the KGB, which has a significant force in Afghanistan.

Another writer from the same news agency died while covering the civil war in Mozambique earlier this year.

The Italian journalist has been in several of the world's worst trouble spots and was one of a team of reporters inside Libya when the United States bombed targets there.

Biloslavo was captured as he, a Hong Kong-based journalist and this reporter were returning to Pakistan after a 3-month tour covering the war in Afghanistan, where the *mujahideen* resistance is fighting a Soviet invasion launched 8 years ago this month.

The war and purported Soviet intentions to withdraw from Afghanistan are said to be important points of discussion in the summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev that begins today.

In the field, however, the Soviets seem to remain committed to continuing the battle against their Muslim neighbor. More than 5 million Afghans — almost one of every three living there before the 1979 invasion — have fled as refugees to Pakistan or Iran.

Biloslavo, freelance journalist Anthony Davis — who was on assignment for *Asiaweek* magazine — and I had entered Afghanistan separately.

We first met north of the Hindu Kush mountain range, where we had trekked to cover what became one of the more strategically important battles of the war — the capture of key army and secret police bases at Keran, which for 6 years have blocked a relatively easy *mujahideen* supply route for arms and other material from Pakistan.

Led by the famed *mujahideen* commander Ahmad Shah Massoud, the battle of Keran opened up the Mingon mountain pass, cutting travel time from the neighboring nation from almost 2

weeks at best to 3 or 4 days.

My companions and I had hoped to be the first to cross the liberated pass. We waited several days after the victory, only to be told by Massoud that the Soviets had laid as many as 300 mines along the narrow mountain paths and that the peak — around 15,000 feet above sea level — was probably closed because of snow and ice, as it had not been used since last winter. He said he would not allow his own troops to go that way until he was sure it was safe.

At the suggestion of other *mujahideen* leaders, we chose a lengthy route that went south through lower Nuristan and Laghman province. The reason was that rivalry between two of the seven *mujahideen* groups had flared into tribal warfare.

A renegade, extremist, anti-Western group, Hezbi-Islami, has mounted ambushes on the most common route from northern Afghanistan to Pakistan to grab journalists who have spent time with the group's nemesis, Massoud.

The group is under the leadership of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Another group, also called Hezbi-Islami, is led by Maulavi Yunus Khalis, who is president of the seven-party alliance of resistance forces, based in Peshawar.

Members of the renegade Hezbi group freely admit that the purpose is to seize the reporters' film and notes, cutting down on the international attention Massoud is getting for his success.

As we set out from the Panjshir River valley down to Laghman, we linked up with a team of traders driving 13 horses heavily laden with lapis, precious stones they were taking to sell in Pakistan. They, too, had taken that route because they feared the Hezbi-Islami.

On Nov. 13, Biloslavo's birthday, after 7 days of traversing some of the world's most imposing terrain, we reached a small mountaintop bazaar town, Gandalabok. We were told the fundamentalists had men nearby, waiting to grab journalists and keep their work.

The next day, traveling on a wide, smooth dirt road, we stopped to hide our film in bags of hay for the horses and to conceal other items we did not want to lose if stopped and searched.

Saying he wanted to write to a colleague at his agency in case we were taken prisoner by the extremist group, Biloslavo stayed back on the roadway with a young Afghan he had hired as a personal guide and to carry equipment.

The main group of almost 20 went on and about 1 hour later left the dirt road, stopping in the village of Kotalee for lunch. Most of us believed that Biloslavo and his horseman had caught

up and were somewhere in the meal-time melee. We did not know they had become separated on the road and that Biloslavo, having fallen behind, kept going beyond the turnout to Kotalee.

Less than half an hour's walk up the main road, we learned later, was an Afghan army post, which locals said no one could pass without being captured.

Later in the afternoon, as we prepared to leave and first noted Biloslavo's absence, Hezbi-Islami members took Davis and me and the lapis merchants prisoner at gunpoint.

Their leader told us he was acting under orders to impose a heavy tax on the passing gem merchants and to take film and cameras from journalists.

On the second day of captivity, the village where we were held came under two separate artillery attacks. Two Soviet helicopters flew close by, strafing the area between village and a nearby mountain with rocket fire.

Locals later said the firepower was to provide cover for a third incoming helicopter that landed at the nearby military base, picked up a foreign prisoner and left quickly.

Another witness told us he had seen a young man answering Biloslavo's description striding along the road toward the base, but too far away to be warned of what was ahead.

After 3 days, we were released — with our film. The fundamentalist commander said he did not think it was ethical for him to enforce the orders he had been given.

He did not release the gem merchants, however, as they had yet to come up with the tax he demanded.

It was 19 more days over tortuous mountains and down brutal valleys before Davis, another group of traders and I reached Pakistan.

In Peshawar, in the Northwest Frontier province, and in Islamabad, the national capital, Biloslavo's colleagues, diplomats and *mujahideen* leaders are formulating plans of action. But mostly, they are simply hoping.

The Biloslavo affair is the latest in a string of setbacks for journalists covering that war. In October it was revealed that two Americans, Lee Shapiro and Jim Lindelof, had been killed by communist forces near Kabul. Another, Charles Thornton, medical writer for an Arizona newspaper, was shot and killed by communists in 1985.

French officials have confirmed that a Paris journalist for the Sygma agency, Alain Guillo, is a prisoner facing trial in Kabul for being caught covering the war from the side of the rebels.

Despite interviews with local *mujahideen* commanders and others, Biloslavo's fate remains unknown.

12/8

NEW YORK CITY TRIBUNE



# In Afghan King, a Soft A charming ex-king Voice for a Soviet Pullout

ROME, Nov. 14 — After 14 years of quiet exile, the king of Afghanistan, Mohammad Zahir Shah, has emerged as a key figure in efforts to negotiate a Soviet withdrawal from his country.

In Moscow, at the United Nations and in the refugee camps in Pakistan, the 73-year-old king is being promoted as the possible leader of a government that would oversee an end to the Soviet occupation and a transition to independence.

Lying in near-seclusion on the outskirts of Rome, King Mohammad Zahir is a soft-spoken man who finds himself walking a diplomatic tightrope.

With his re-emergence have come competing claims from tribal leaders, superpowers and would-be mediators. In response, Mohammad Zahir has established discreet contacts with virtually all parties to the conflict and has remained silent except for a few statements on basic issues.

## King Wants Direct Talks

In an interview, the King asserted that a political solution in Afghanistan could only be achieved through direct talks between the Soviet Union and the guerrilla groups who have been fighting Soviet troops for almost eight years.

As for his own role, he was self-effacing. "It is up to the Afghan nation to assign me the role I will have to accomplish in the future," he said.

While avoiding comments on specific diplomatic initiatives, he made it clear that he would not be party to an agreement that offered the Soviet Union political gains for its intervention in his country in December 1979.

Some American officials are suggesting that concessions to Afghan Communists may be necessary to speed a Soviet withdrawal. But the King insists that the pro-Moscow government in Kabul is not a legitimate representative of the Afghan people and should not be allowed to share power after the Russians leave.

The King's balancing act is most clear when he speaks of the superpowers. An independent Afghanistan, he said, would "pursue our traditional policy of neutrality and nonalignment, having good neighborly relations with all countries in the region, including the Soviet Union."

## U.S. Role in Insuring Pullout

The United States, he says, assisted Afghans in fighting for "freedom and human dignity" after the Soviet intervention, and it has "a major and influential role" to play in helping insure a Soviet withdrawal. But, on these points, as on all policy issues, he says he is offering only his impressions because final decisions will reflect the consensus of Afghan nationalist forces.

Mohammad Zahir took the throne in 1933 at the age of 19 after his father was assassinated. He ruled Afghani-

stan for 40 years and became known as able mediator who instituted a constitutional monarchy.

In July 1973, while in Italy for medical treatment, he was deposed by his brother-in-law and cousin, Gen. Mohammad Daud. President Daud was killed in a coup in April 1978 that led to the establishment of a pro-Soviet Government.

The King remained in Italy, exercising little influence over a homeland that has grown increasingly tumultuous and violent.

He lives in a villa in the suburban countryside, where he entertains himself reading and playing chess, jousting with a computer game when no human competitors are available.

From the villa gardens, the Apennine Mountains are visible on a clear day. "The view recalls Afghanistan," said the King's son-in-law, Abdul Wali. "This has been a nice place to live."

Despite the King's long sojourn here he admits he has learned little Italian and does not know his way around the city. His associates say he is shy and reserved, and he primarily spends his time with his family.

## Gone Too Long to Have Enemies

"Ironically," said a European diplomat who keeps tabs on the monarch's activities, "the King's great appeal is that he has been out of the picture for so many years that he does not have many enemies."

Under several scenarios now being discussed the King is portrayed as someone who belongs neither to the resistance movement nor to the Communists but who could be acceptable to both.

The Soviet Union has publicly stated its willingness to withdraw its 115,000 troops from Afghanistan, but the makeup of an interim government remains a hurdle.

## King Has Broad Support

Even though the King has repeatedly rejected power-sharing, party leaders and Soviet diplomats continue to mention him as a possible chief of a transitional government. Soundings among guerrilla leaders and in the refugee camps in Pakistan show that the King enjoys broad support.

The King has increased his contacts with various Afghan parties over the past year.

His priority is to promote greater unity among resistance forces, and he energetically supports proposals to form a "grand council" of all the non-Communist groups.

NOVEMBER 15, 1987

By ROBERTO URO  
THE NEW YORK TIMES

I can testify to the charm and diplomacy of a nice man of 73 who used to be king of Afghanistan and is now the pawn in an international game. The former king, Mohammad Zahir Shah, has been mentioned as the one person who, by again becoming ruler of his country, might end the eight-year war between the Soviet Union and Afghans who have been shedding blood to drive them out.

Our only meeting took place in Rome in 1980 — just a year after the Soviet invasion in mid-December 1979 and seven years after he had been sent into exile by a cousin who set himself up as despot. I was somewhat worried about his reception because I had written a book that included some facts that cast doubt on the legitimacy of his dynasty. In fact, after a Marxist coup in 1978 the new government began broadcasting and publishing excerpts emphasizing the conspiratorial nature of his father's accession to power. I wondered how I'd react to someone who had been my book created a furor among the young members of the royal family. The king gave himself a fine excuse not to comment, and he gave me a fine lesson in how to deal with something troublesome.

He reacted by ignoring it all. I could not resist asking about my book. He said that he had never seen it. I know that he had. A deputy foreign minister had told me proudly of how he had handed the book to the king. I had heard that my book created a furor among the young members of the royal family. The king gave himself a fine excuse not to comment, and he gave me a fine lesson in how to deal with something troublesome.

In Pakistan, the government and many newspapers are urging that the king be the figurehead in whatever Afghan government will follow the removal of Soviet troops. The Soviets have hinted that they would accept the king, and that is enough to arouse the suspicions of the independent freedom fighters. Whenever I talk to them — even to those close to the king in family and sympathy — I get depressing smiles.

Yet an informal poll in the Afghan refugee camps of Pakistan has given the king an overwhelming lead as a desirable postwar leader. "Afghans have always responded more to personalities than to issues," Zahir Shah told me. It also is possible that, in the fragmented condition of the resistance, his name is the only one that is generally known.

Afghans who shake their heads about the king and a future government are thinking of what he did as king from 1932 to 1973: virtually nothing.

He was 19 years old when his father was assassinated. Several strong-willed uncles took over. Had there been only one tough uncle, he no doubt would have made himself king. With a multiplicity, the young man kept the throne but never could become a strong ruler.

After the uncles, Zahir Shah had some strong-willed cousins of whom two were bitter rivals. One was Prince Abdul Wali, whom I knew in Kabul and who arranged my meeting with the ex-king. "I gambled and lost," Abdul Wali told me. The cousin who gambled and won was Prince Mohammed Daud. But his triumph ended in a shower of bullets from left-wingers to whom he had unwisely opened the door of power.

The ex-king is an imposing figure — tall, completely devoid of hair. I had been warned that his voice was so soft that people have difficulty hearing him. We started out speaking French. I had to pretend my French was too limited to

understand so that Abdul Wali would interpret in his strong voice. I have no idea whether the subsequent soft speech was French or Farsi.

The king said the fragmentation of the freedom fighters' leadership was a good thing because it showed that the resistance really comes from the people and is not stirred up by a single force. Now the seven leading resistance groups have united in an alliance, and they are addressing the issue of a government when, or if, the Soviets leave. Some of their best friends are finding them intransigent. As men of action, they overlook the advantages of a figurehead with experience in the job.

A U.N. peace-keeping force often is suggested for the immediate postwar period. When I spoke with them privately, one leader of the freedom fighters said the United Nations will never get out once it gets in. I did some research and discovered that the United Nations does pull its forces out. I told this to another leader. He smiled: "It is not necessary."

If the key is an ex-king who knows when to ignore potential embarrassment, I, for one, am willing to ignore the inconsistency of the Soviets' restoring a monarch.

Rhea Talley Stewart

Hartford Courant 12/16

## Afghan war makes negative effect on Soviet morale

LONDON, Nov. 28: A surprisingly candid report in a recent issue of the Soviet magazine "Literary Gazette" calls the Soviet war effort in Afghanistan, and the Communist regime that it supports, tainted with corruption, bribery, marketing, nepotism and other abuses and says the war has had a negative effect on Soviet morale at the front and at home. Although the magazine attacks the Communist regime in Afghanistan for its divisiveness and avarice, charges that the Kabul Communist leaders have occasionally levelled at their rivals in the Communist Party, the brunt of the magazine's criticism is directed at the Soviets themselves. From military items to consumer goods, says "Literary Gazette," the Soviet army and the thousands of civilian bureaucrats, it brought with it to Afghanistan appear to be involved in a massive black marketeering operation.

The Soviet Union is Afghanistan's major source of income and its principal client for its remaining exports. About 87 per cent of all Afghan trade goes through the USSR and the Soviets have sold Afghanistan heavy equipment worth more than 2 billion dollars since the 1979 Communist coup. A great deal of that trade involves Afghan merchants, trans-shipping western and regional goods not normally found in the Soviet marketplace. Moscow also provides about 60 per cent of the Kabul regime's budget and, through food and consumer goods deliveries and subsidised barter trade, keeps the Afghan urban population fed and the city merchants in business. As a result, there is a lot of money to be made by those who are willing to cover up a few of their scruples.

Although the Soviets take far more than they give to Afghanistan, a certain amount of humanitarian aid is sent from the USSR, mostly used clothing,

canned food, blankets and the like, the items sent still have value in a country where the per capita income has dropped from 185 to 155 dollars a year. "Literary Gazette" reports, however, that little of that aid reaches its destination. Most is illegally sold by Soviet soldiers and economic advisers, and items intended as war relief aid can instead be found for sale in the bazaars of Kabul.

Soviet soldiers are also looting their own storehouses of military goods to sell to black marketers, the magazine charged, and will sell everything from machinery and weapons to their own underwear. Salt, matches, kerosene, farm implements and other items sent by the USSR either as aid or as subsidised trade to Afghanistan, according to Soviet and western reporters, are too valuable to the Soviet soldiers and the Soviet and Afghan bureaucrats that manage the operations for the goods to reach the general public.

Many Soviets in Afghanistan and in the USSR have made fortunes out of this billion-dollar import-export trade. The Soviet KGB has arrested trade officials for accepting kickbacks, has apprehended air force officers for smuggling furs and drugs inside

the coffins of dead soldiers and has uncovered corruption in the money markets of Kabul, where Afghan and Soviet officials have manipulated the currency to their own profit, the corruption charges have gone as high as the family of former Afghan President Babrak Karmal, whose brother-in-law reportedly made millions of dollars on trade and currency manipulations. The subsequent currency depreciation has sent prices up, dropped the national currency to record lows and, in general, led to a boom in the Afghan black market.

Soviet soldiers, especially officers, are to blame for the tensions, even hostilities, that exist between Soviet and Afghan troops. Few Soviets bother to learn any Dari or Pashtun words and most treat the Afghans with disdain. Soviet advisers have kicked Afghan families out of their homes in housing projects in Kabul and Mazar-i-Sharif, among other cities, so that Soviet workers would have decent housing. Even among Afghan and Soviet party officials in Afghanistan, Soviet newspapers have charged, apartments and houses are illegally distributed, party members are "filthy with debauchery and spirits," and those in power routinely "abuse their office" for personal gain—EPI

November 29, 1987



Afghanistan's former King Mohammad Zahir Shah

Mohammad Zahir Shah, the King of Afghanistan. NYT 11/15

ON HUMAN RIGHTS - Paul Lewis writes in the NYT on 11/11

On the human rights question, two differing accounts of the situation in Afghanistan, were circulated to delegates today, one suggesting some improvement and the other painting a grimmer picture.

In his annual report, the official United Nations investigator, Prof. Felix Ermacora, director of international law at Vienna University, noted "some improvement in the human rights situation" in Government-controlled areas of Afghanistan, compared with a year ago. He also said he had received no new reports of the use of torture during interrogations.

### Refers to Combat Areas

But Professor Ermacora said "serious contraventions of humanitarian law and human rights" were still occurring in combat areas. He also reported that some 4,000 Afghan civilian refugees have been killed in camps and villages along the border with Pakistan by Soviet and Afghan air raids and artillery barrages.

Diplomats said the general tone of the report appeared softer and more restrained than last year, when Professor Ermacora presented a detailed list of atrocities attributed to the Communist regime in Kabul. "These United Nations reporters often end up in the Government's pocket," a Western diplomat said.

But another report by a group of human rights lawyers from the United States, Britain, Sweden and Malta known as Independent Counsel on International Human Rights presented a far different picture.

Its report, based on interviews with Afghan refugees this year, speaks of the widespread use of torture by the Kabul Government's secret police, as well as massacres and summary executions of civilians by Soviet troops, widespread attacks on illegitimate targets and the deportation of Afghan children to the Soviet Union.

The Independent Counsel on International Human Rights accuses the Soviet Union of seeking to destroy traditional Afghan society and says its forces are depopulating several provinces, systematically destroying villages, burning crops and poisoning water supplies.

"In the view of the Independent Counsel on International Human Rights, there is considerable evidence that genocide has been committed against the Afghan people by the combined forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union," the report says.

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12/11





# Regime and Violent Bandit Are Uneasy Allies in Kabul

By RONE TEMPEST

KABUL, Afghanistan—By all accounts, Imam Mullah is a violent and treacherous man as a legalized criminal," according to a Western diplomat here.

Muslim, who sometimes wears an army general's uniform and sometimes a traditional loose shirt and pajama-type pants with a knife at his waist, commands a tribe of brigands who are known to have smuggled everything from opium to English wool across the border into Pakistan.

He drinks great quantities of vodka and beats heavily on the dog fights that take place near Kabul's airport every Friday morning. He has at least six teen-age wives, in houses scattered around this dusty capital.

His parties are famous for drugs, dancing girls and danger. After one, a diplomat whose residence is adjacent to one of Mullah's houses reported seeing a dead man, who appeared to have been tortured, hanging by the neck on Mullah's porch.

Even in untamed Afghanistan, Imam Mullah is considered an unsavory character. Yet Mullah, who is about 40 years old, is the only important resistance leader the Soviet-backed Afghan regime has been able to win over to its side in the eight years that Soviet troops have occupied this Central Asian country.

Since January, when President Najibullah announced a plan of "national reconciliation" and offered gifts of money, land and a chance to take part in a coalition government to any rebel leader who would switch sides, not one of the dozen or so major rebel leaders has taken the bait.

Late last month, in a speech to pro-government tribal and political leaders in Kabul, Najibullah again asked the rebels—known collectively as the *mujahideen*, or Holy Warriors—to join the government.

This time, he called on several of the most famous field commanders by name, including Ahmad Shah Massoud, who operates in the Panjshir Valley; Mullah Jaidin Haxani of Jostan and Turan; and Hadrat. Najibullah said he would remove Soviet troops from the territory of each man and make each a virtually independent ruler if he would accept the government's offer.

The Soviet troops, he said, would withdraw and "return to their peace-loving country first of all from those provinces where a commitment is made."

So far, according to sources that include even people in the government, Najibullah's reconciliation policy has been a disappointment. The government says that 110,000 Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran have come home under the program, including about 30,000 fighters of the *mujahideen*.

Ironically, while Najibullah was calling for refugees to return, his younger brother defected to Pakistan. "He has left his ancestral homeland," Najibullah admitted at a press conference.

If the government numbers are accurate, fewer than 1% of the estimated four million refugees

have come home. And other sources here, including diplomats, say the actual number of returnees is even lower, probably no more than about 8,000.

A local businessman who promised the government he would entertain 150 returning refugees at dinner in a Kabul restaurant said the government "was able to produce only 30 or 40 returnees."

"The rest," he said, "were truck drivers and people they gathered up on the street."

Even if the number of returning refugees should increase dramatically, it would probably not help Najibullah, unless he can produce a true *mujahideen* leader. And if the experience with Imam Mullah is any example, it may not be worth the effort.

Muslim, according to party members, diplomats and Soviet commentators here, is perhaps the most rogue in Afghanistan since 1972, when the adventurer Bacha Saggaw swept out of the mountains and captured Kabul. Bacha Saggaw's rule lasted a mere nine months.

Muslim, who was born into a prominent tribal family from Kandahar in the south, attended a military academy in the Soviet Union for three years before he was arrested, according to a Soviet source, for "smuggling gold and silver." He was sent to a Soviet prison for six months.

After his release, he returned to Afghanistan and formed a rebel group in the south, a strategic point north of the Khyber Pass that leads into Afghanistan from Pakistan. Nearby is the Pakistan city of Quetta, and the surrounding region is a major staging area for *mujahideen* attacks, particularly on Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city.

During Muslim's time as a rebel, the *mujahideen* forces enjoyed easy passage into Kandahar. Muslim had control of the smuggling business. His men were fierce fighters feared by Soviet and Afghan government troops.

"He used Soviet military tactics to kill thousands of Soviet soldiers," a journalist, who knows Muslim, said.

Two years ago, Muslim feuded with other rebel leaders and defected to the Soviet side. Some rebels contend that he has been a secret agent for the Soviets since his time at the military academy.

After his defection "he was given the rank and pay of general in the Afghan army. He was made a member of the Revolutionary Council of the People's Democratic Party and he was given the money to buy houses in Kabul and equip a private army."

But he was soon at odds with party leaders. Last May, several of his men were killed in a shoot-out involving a minister of the government over a woman Muslim had kidnapped.

Since then Muslim has terrorized the capital, kidnapping and brawling and igniting security rules. Arriving for his recent *loya jirga*—he was detained by first of his rank in the army and members on the Revolutionary Council—one of his trucks rammed the entrance gate of Polytechnic University, where the meeting was taking place.

The next day, Monday, his men opened fire on Afghan security troops that challenged him on the road just outside the university. A 20-minute gun fight ensued, and 11 men are said to have been killed. Muslim was wounded but managed to escape by ordering a passing United Nations employee at gunpoint to drive him to a hospital.

Najibullah, who has been surprisingly tolerant of Muslim's behavior, blamed the incident on alcohol.

"Muslim is a sick man, making use of poisonous alcoholic drink," Najibullah said. "His sickness is

getting serious. Now he is in the hospital."

As a result of the armed clash, Muslim's loyalties are again in question. But according to several diplomats, the government must keep Muslim on its side or risk losing Kandahar, the city in the southwest where Muslim and his tribe are most powerful.

"They have to patch it up with him," said a diplomat who is sympathetic with the Soviet-backed government, "or Kandahar will fall."

Los Angeles Times

December 14, 1987

## Anxiety Rules Kabul

By RONE TEMPEST, Times Staff Writer

KABUL, Afghanistan—As President Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev enter their historic summit conference, the mood in this dusty, mountain capital on the other side of the Earth has been one of anticipation and nervousness.

Signs of summit anxiety in old Kabul could be found Monday in the famous Shamada money market, where any currency can be traded freely in the booths of turbaned money lenders who sit cross-legged on Persian carpets. The "Shamada" exchange is one of the few markets in the world where the dollar's value has risen recently; the ruble is down.

Meanwhile, uncertainty about the future of this backward land has caused the Soviet-backed ruling party, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, to tone down its pro-Soviet, revolutionary rhetoric.

"Rising Masses"

Eight months ago, at the anniversary parade for the 1978 revolution that brought the People's Democratic Party to power, foreign journalists watched as the party staged an agitprop skit that depicted Uncle Sam being driven to the ground and killed by the "rising masses" of Afghans.

By last week, however, Afghan leader Najibullah, former chief of the secret police, was praising the summit and the two leaders, Gorbachev and Reagan. Further, he predated over a traditional Afghan *loya jirga* (great assembly) last week that adopted a new constitution stripped of revolutionary jargon and injected with Islamic religious verbiage aimed at attracting U.S.-backed resistance groups to the government.

In the money markets, in the foreign missions, even among the lower ranks of the party apparatus here, there existed a palpable sense that city Afghans—the Dari-speaking Kabulis who have provided the only popular base for the ruling party—were positioning themselves for an inevitable Soviet withdrawal.

For some who have been most loyal to the Soviet-backed regime, including those who have studied in the Soviet Union and speak Russian, this meant reinforcing their connection to the Soviets. A new Soviet-staffed, Russian-language primary school opened here recently with three times as many Afghans applying for admission as there were seats available.

"When we leave," observed a Soviet journalist who has lived here for three years, "thousands of people are going to want to come with us."

His comment reinforced another made earlier by a Western diplomat in New Delhi.

"When the withdrawal occurs," said the diplomat, an expert on Afghanistan attached to an embassy in the Indian capital, "you might find a large number of Afghans in a central republic of the Soviet Union."

The diplomat was referring to the majority-Muslim Soviet republics of Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan that border Afghanistan and share many of its cultural and linguistic traits.

For others here, lower-level party members, government clerks and soldiers likely to be left behind in a Soviet withdrawal, it was a matter of distancing themselves from the hard-core party members and their Soviet sponsors.

"I try not to be too much for the government or to let too much against it," confided one English translator attached to the government news agency, Bakhtar. Although he belongs to the 200,000-member party, modeled on the Soviet Communist Party, he said he has never been fully accepted since he studied English, not Russian, as a foreign language.

Mohammed Akram, 47, commander of the new Afghan Ministry of Political Union, admitted that the army is only about 350 cadres for the 400 places at the two-month-old school. Being a student at the supposedly elite school means being treated as hard-line party members—not a desirable label if the party is thrown out of power.

Throughout Afghanistan, there has always been the fear that the nation of 15 million people—4 million of whom live in refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran—is just a chip in a much higher-stakes game between superpowers.

Nervousness about the summit and its possible consequences for Afghanistan was heightened here last week after both Reagan and Gorbachev said Afghanistan would be featured in the discussions.

Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd (D-W. Va.) warned Sunday that the Senate might not ratify a nuclear arms treaty that the superpowers were set to sign today "if there is not real progress towards pulling Soviet troops out of Afghanistan."

"I believe that ratification of the treaty will be difficult," Byrd said,

"If the end of Soviet occupation in Afghanistan is not in sight—meaning withdrawal within a year from the conclusion of the Senate vote on the treaties."

#### Serious About Leaving

The overwhelming consensus among Eastern and Western diplomats based in Kabul is that the Soviets are serious about leaving, even if it means abandoning the fervently pro-Soviet party that they have helped prop up for nearly eight years since they first sent in troops in 1979. The Soviet troops now number about 115,000. "The Soviets will leave," said a Turkish diplomat here. "It could be 12 months, 16 months or 18 months—that is not important. But they will leave."

The most popular phrase in diplomatic circles these days is "end game"—as in "We have entered the end game phase of the war" or "the Soviets are moving their end-game pieces."

Probably nowhere is evidence of the end game more graphic than at the Shamsi market, where local residents wishing to hoard dollars have driven up the currency's value in contradiction to the trend at other world markets. The dollar has never been higher here.

The official rate of exchange at banks and hotels is 55 afghanis per dollar. But at the wide-open Shamsi market, one of the widest and freest money markets on earth, traders will pay 180 afghanis on the dollar.

One recent visitor was even encouraged to write a personal check off his hometown bank in Texas.

Meanwhile, the Soviet ruble, usually valued around the world at about 80 cents, is worth only 16 cents here.

## SLOW PROGRESS FOR AFGHAN WOMEN by Mark Urban Hong Kong Standard 10/12

Nothing illustrates better Afghanistan's enormous conservatism than the problems the Soviet-backed government there has had in the past nine years trying to improve the lot of women.

From its earliest days in power, following the April revolution in 1978, the left-wing People's Democratic Party has attempted to introduce legislation to emancipate women. But the problems the government has encountered and the limited success of its programme up to now indicate how little has changed.

The treatment of women in Afghanistan has traditionally been, to European eyes at least, backward to the point of disbelief.

Before 1978, 98 per cent of women were illiterate. Brides were bought and sold, and women had few civil rights. Government attempts to apply legislation stopping some of these practices were an important factor in fanning the rural rebellion that has now raged in this country for nine years.

The Herat revolts in 1979, still one of the bloodiest episodes in Afghanistan's grim catalogue of war, was triggered by the introduction of female literacy classes.

The party ideologists here have always seen illiteracy as the central problem for Afghan women. By teaching them to read and write, they argue, economic exploitation of women by men can be ended.

Officials admit that the past few years have been spent trying to repair the damage done by idealists who went into the countryside tearing off veils and enforcing schooling. Women should form one of the regime's strongest natural constituencies.

The Islamic fundamentalist guerrillas have made it clear that they would institute a far stricter regime for women than existed even before the revolution.

In fact, the government's progress has been tempered both by its limited control in the countryside and by its desire not further to alienate conservative local leaders.

While saying that, during nine difficult years, they have more than doubled the number of women who can read and write, the officials who run the programme are candid enough to admit that this still only amounts to a literacy rate of five per cent.

Najibullah, the party general secretary, has recently made clear his disappointment that fewer than one in 10 party members are women. Wearing of veils is, if anything, increasing in the cities. In rural areas, parents still sell their under-age daughters as brides, despite legislation.

For years, Dr Anbitta Ratabzad, the leading women's rights campaigner in the party, held an important post in the Politburo. Three months ago she lost her job due to her links with the former party leader, Mr Babrak Karmal. Dr Ratabzad and Mr Karmal were close politically and, according to Kabul rumour, personal friends. Now there are no women in the Politburo and only a handful in the Central Committee.

In keeping with the new policy of national reconciliation, started nine months ago, aggressive campaigning for women's rights has been shelved. The risk of damaging relations with the conservative leaders Dr Najibullah wants to "win over" are too great.

Sayellah Shirzai, chief of one of the campaigning government-sponsored women's clubs remembers a time when they went into villages giving lectures on Lenin. Now, she says, "We talk about literacy, family problems and health education". The party concentrates on these less controversial initiatives.

At the Kabul Women's Club the emphasis is on giving useful working skills, medical care and teaching self-help, rather than education in socialist thought.

Those who were married said their husbands did not mind them acquiring these skills, but the same cannot be said in many rural areas. In the long term the destruction of war, as in Europe, may prove to be the greatest emancipator.

In a country where a million people have been killed in recent years there is an urgent need for many women to work. Not only have many husbands died but in many villages the wider social structure has been swept away. Many of these widows have left the countryside and moved to the towns seeking work. Many businesses now say they have to provide creches for working mothers.

The numbers killed in the fighting and the pressures of conscription mean that far more places in higher education are now being taken by girls. At Kabul university, where most of the country's recent leaders—government and guerrilla—studied, well over half of the 8,000 students are now women.

In future years, these graduates may form a new women's elite. At the current rate it will take 50 or 60 years for the majority to be taught to read and write. That is the speed of progress in Afghanistan.

Nancy Dupree wrote in response to a letter in The Durham Morning Herald from Sergio Callihan extolling the benefits of socialist society in Afghanistan. Her comments appeared on 12/9:

#### Opportunities For Women

In the course of living in Afghanistan for 16 years, I made many fast friends in the cities and in the villages. Afghan women, be they peasants or urban career women, have a unique ability to combine poise with dynamism in accepting challenges and new ideas. This was clearly reflected in the evolution of the emancipation movement in which I was privileged to participate.

In fact, Afghan women have pursued career opportunities since the 1950s when separate medical, higher education and management institutions were established for women.

When, therefore, in 1959, the government announced the voluntary removal of the veil and an end to separate institutions, many women were fully prepared to participate in national development. Since then, in rapidly increasing numbers, women engaged in a steadily burgeoning array of multifaceted community endeavors.

By the 1970s, they functioned as cabinet members (there are none today), parliamentarians, diplomats, lawyers, judges, military officers, policemen, businesswomen, teachers, nurses and doctors. No work opportunities were denied them, except menial jobs such as street cleaners or brick-carriers at construction sites.

I agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Callihan that the bloodshed abroad and the progress can continue, as it was evolving prior to 1978. For this to happen, however, the foreigners who invaded and now unsuccessfully attempt to control Afghanistan must leave—so that the Afghans may rebuild their tragically war-torn country in ways consistent with their own cultural patterns.

NANCY DUPREE  
The writer is a program associate in Islamic and Arabian development studies at Duke University.

## Los Angeles Times

December 8, 1987

### Mujahids hit milit. installations in USSR territory

LONDON, Nov. 26: The Afghan freedom fighters continued striking at the military installations near Takhta Bazar town of Turkmenistan, Muslim occupied area in Soviet Union, crossing the border of Badkhis province.

The Agency Afghan Press learnt here on Wednesday that the Mujahideen hit the military installations continuously for two days. In these guerrilla operations 28 Soviet troops were killed or injured and a tank and three heavy vehicles were destroyed.

According to reports on Nov. 7, Hizb-Islami Mujahideen in Chirchik and Bala Murghab led by their Commanders Tor Khan and Sultan Mohammad Akhundaev fired rockets across the border over the camp of the mobile force. The Mujahideen returned after destroying a tank and an army vehicle in the swift attack. The next day, the same group of Mujahideen advanced into the Soviet territory where the Soviet troops had to suffer the loss of two army vehicles in addition to the heavy casualties. It was also reported that when the Mujahideen were withdrawn from the territory, they had to face the Soviet bombing by which a Mujahid was martyred and seven others were injured. The report said that the Mujahideen succeeded in returning to their places in Badkhis province despite the severe bombing.

PT 11/27



THANKS, SANTAL GOSH, YOU SURE ARE JOLLY AND KIND.

Steve Kelly  
San Diego Union

NYT 11/13

From the Editor:

It's renewal time again and as usual a handy form is enclosed for the convenience of those who owe us money. We hope you will want to continue to read what people are writing, doing or planning to do about Afghanistan - from all sides as we believe strongly that one person's lie is another person's fact. The DRA Mission to the UN reports that it did not receive Bakhtar telexes for most of November & we couldn't get the November issues of the PT from the Pakistan Consulate. However December more than made up the loss. As usual there is much fine print. So far, there have been few complaints but we are looking into the possibility of offering FORUM readers a magnifying implement. Thanks to everyone who has sent us information. The FORUM is strictly a volunteer production so it depends on its readers to let it know what's going on, what appears in your papers, etc. The deadline for the next issue is 2/15. The proofreader says to remind you that we use the spelling for names & places as they appear in the article cited. The wide variety is not his fault. As for 1988 - let's hope.

## EVENTS

The Annual Meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Region of the Assn. for Asian Studies featured papers on Afghanistan by Robert Canfield ("Changing Configuration of Options in Afghanistan") and Habib Tegey ("Nature of the Resistance Movement in Afghanistan"). The meeting was held at Lehigh University from 10/30 - 11/1.

The Int'l Medical Corps held a meeting in Washington on 11/6. Participants included Senator Humphrey, Robert Simon & Louis Dupree. On 11/10 the IMC celebrated its 3rd anniversary in Los Angeles.

Matthew Erulark of the Afghan Support Team will address the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations on 2/11. His topic will be "Afghanistan: The Resistance, The Soviets & The End of The War." For further information, call (312) 726-3860.

Berner Schulwarte, Schweizerische Gesellschaft der Freunde Afghanistans, SOI-Hilfsfonds für Afghanistan, Arbeitsgemeinschaft "Pro Afghanistan," Bibliotheca Afghanica & De Pashtano Jauallei held an Afghan Week in Bern at the end of November. There were films, lectures & exhibitions.

We went to an Int'l Conference of Afghanistan Humanitarian Support Organizations, sponsored by the Afghanistan Relief Committee, in New York on 11/7-8. Speakers included Congressmen Charles Wilson & the US Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN, Ambassador Herbert Okun, as well as representatives from a number of private voluntary organizations concerned with Afghanistan - both American & European - all of whom seem to be doing an incredible job, with the French doing just a little better than anyone else although the competition is keen. The emphasis now seems to be on reconstruction. Some items we hadn't heard elsewhere: US AID to Af-

Continued on p. 26



# Soviet War Wounded Find Little Joy in Homecoming

By WILLIAM TUOHY

MOSCOW—Disabled Soviet veterans of the war in Afghanistan are returning home to face wrenching readjustment to a future marked by hardship and society's indifference or even hostility for their sacrifices.

Such is the view presented in a sensitive description of their plight which appeared recently in the weekly newspaper *Moscow News* under the headline, "Afghanistan Veterans: Society Owes Them."

The article deals with wounded soldiers in a military sanatorium in Saki, a resort town in the Crimea on the Black Sea, and the problems facing the men maimed in Afghanistan since the Soviet government sent in troops in December 1979.

Western sources in Kabul, the Afghan capital, estimate that of the 115,000 or so Soviet troops in Afghanistan, about 50 are wounded every day.

According to the reporter, Viktor Turshtov, when severely wounded men arrive at the hospital they are told bluntly: "You have fulfilled your duty and sustained serious wounds. Many of you have lost legs or arms. Life is going to be very difficult for you. But you must summon your courage, acknowledge the terrible truth and remember that you are citizens of your country like anybody else, and the makers of your own destiny."

Most of the men arriving at the sanatorium have already had many months of hospital treatment. They are at Saki to rest and recover, and most will have to go on to other hospitals for further surgery and treatment.

The rehabilitation center at Saki was opened in the early 1980s, Turshtov says, "when few people thought our presence in Afghanistan would last, and therefore it was built on a small scale."

But soldiers with back wounds, fractures, multiple operations and amputations continued to arrive, he goes on, "and another wing had to be added."

Turshtov says the facility has the latest in therapeutic equipment, comparable to that at the Soviet training center for commandos, yet he asks: "What about those who have lost their health in Afghanistan, received the well-earned medals and who have a tough future ahead? What about the young men themselves?" Accompanying the article is a picture of a wounded veteran slumped in his wheelchair, staring blankly at the ground.

"After an hour at the sanatorium," Turshtov comments, "the photographer put his camera back in his bag, sat down, covered his face with his hands and said: 'That's all, I can't take any more pictures.'"

One of the patients is identified as Capt. Igor Ovsyannikov, a commando, a regular army officer who was awarded the Order of the Red Star for valor in an action that cost him both legs.

Ovsyannikov says he asked Ovsyannikov about the war, and was told: "Honestly, I don't know. They are showing rebels on TV putting down their arms, but the number of heavily wounded here is not decreasing."

Of his future, he said: "I'll have to change my profession, of course. I want to become a historian. Studying this war, I hope I'll understand it better."

Ovsyannikov's artificial limbs were far from state-of-the-art, Turshtov said. They made him think of "anything but high-tech," he said, and his view was echoed by Capt. Mikhail Babich, acting chief of the center. He quotes Babich as saying:

"As I look at the most sophisticated artificial legs in foreign medical journals, I wonder why our boys have to put up with worse."

Turshtov says: "There's no comparing the recent times to the 1940s (during World War II). The number of invalids is immeasurably lower, and the country is much richer now. But we are more merciful! Will the new wave of wounded forgive our formal condolences and aid going together with antiquated crutches, wheelchairs and prostheses?"

He says the men find it "very difficult to learn to ignore the long and shamelessly curious glances" their wounds attract.

"They go to dances," he says, "and stand in a circle, all by themselves. Crutches in one hand, they tempt around to loud, daredevil music. They crave a normal life, its temptations and disappointments, with what seems like ferocity."

The people of Saki remember, Turshtov says, an evening when a local young man, tipsy with drink, sighted a disabled patient and called out: "Hey, cripple." The soldier hobbled to where the offender stood and struck him with his crutch.

"The blow was terrible," Turshtov says. "A casual word cost the big man his life."

He quotes Lt. Col. Gennady Dorofeyev, the institution's deputy chief for political affairs, as saying: "Many of our patients suffer from shattered nerves in addition to serious physical afflictions. They need more than good medical treatment. They need friendly attention, support and love from the people around them. But unfortunately, most remain indifferent. Worse, some prompt the lads to drink."

According to Turshtov, some of the soldiers have received letters from home that have provided much-needed moral support. But not many.

"A lot," he says, "the sanatorium is almost a 'dead zone' in this respect. Former city friends have married. Life does not stand still while soldiers are fighting and recovering from wounds. Parents are often told not to write because the soldiers will be here only a month."

One soldier, Andrei Zaitsev, talked about a letter he would just as soon not have received. He served six months in Afghanistan with a commando unit, lost a leg there and spent 18 months in one hospital after another. At Saki, he told the reporter, he received a letter from a fellow soldier, also disabled, who had been confined to

# An Unpopular War

By WILLIAM J. EATON, Times Staff Writer

MOSCOW—In a far corner of the suburban Peredelkino cemetery, a woman sobbed and waited over a fresh grave marked with the photograph of a dark-haired young soldier killed in Afghanistan.

For those who watched from afar, her grief was a vivid reminder of the pain and sorrow felt by thousands of Soviet soldiers and their relatives who have borne the human cost of a guerrilla war that has gone on for nearly eight years.

Victory seems as elusive as ever in the drawn-out conflict that has produced little but frustration for Soviet leaders. Although the fighting in that distant land has never become a major public issue, recent newspaper reports and an unpublished public opinion survey indicate that some citizens are deeply disturbed by the war dead and don't understand why 115,000 Soviet troops are still tied down in Afghanistan.

"Our poor boys are dying for nothing in Afghanistan," a middle-aged Russian woman complained recently.



Grave of soldier, killed in Afghanistan, in Moscow suburb of Peredelkino

a wheelchair since his discharge from the army.

"He had to go up from his village to get permission from the commission that distributes pension checks," Zaitsev told Turshtov. He said the man went to the bureaucratic ruses, but both times there was no one there.

"He said he would not care to go again," Zaitsev said, "but he can't survive without a pension. He's got no legs."

Zaitsev, who is about to be discharged himself, said: "Without a leg, I'm not very good at running the bureaucratic ruses, but compared to that other fellow, I'm lucky."

Turshtov says that disabled veterans are often treated shabbily by the bureaucracy. He that only the cheapest, underpowered models of the tiny autos used by disabled people are issued to wounded veterans, that prosthetic appliances are hard to come by, as are jobs, and that disability pensions are not enough to make ends meet.

For the first time, Soviet readers also were told last month of a deep split in the Afghan Communist Party that "reaches down to family level." An article in the weekly *Literary Gazette* also described the enemy, normally denigrated as bandits, as a "superbly equipped, well-paid, well-trained and mobile army, capable of staging bold operations and incursions."

In another departure from past reports in the Soviet media, the article raised the question of fairness in the assignment of soldiers to fight in Afghanistan.

The author, Kim Selikhov, said he found primarily the sons of workers and peasants on Afghan duty, adding, "Only rarely did I come across children and grandchildren of writers, cultural figures, high and leading officials. . . . I think this deserves special attention."



WILLIAM J. EATON / Los Angeles Times

A. N. Shevchenko, the father of a soldier killed in Afghanistan, said that thousands of townspeople attended his son's funeral, and he was buried with military honors, yet the authorities rejected his request for a newspaper obituary.

"Writing in our newspaper about fallen soldiers such as your son just isn't done," he quoted a Communist Party official in Kovel, a city in the western Ukraine, as saying. "Your son isn't the first one to be killed. What are we supposed to do, write in the newspaper about every one?"

Shevchenko, complaining about the incident in a letter to the party newspaper *Pravda*, said: "One might think he had been killed in a drunken brawl. . . . What are we ashamed of?"

Ruslan Aushev, a former infantry officer who was wounded in Afghanistan, told *Pravda* that the traditionally close ties between officers and men have been strained by the war. Further, he said, the bravest soldiers are not being rewarded. "Why are we so stingy with medals?" he wanted to know.

November 5, 1987

Excerpts from the article in the LA Times

Los Angeles Times  
December 12, 1987

# Film script with a deadly twist

By NIKKI FINKE

It was like the film *Top Gun*, Jim Lindolf once told a reporter, "only we were the targets".

He was talking about Soviet-occupied Afghanistan in 1985 and the daily bombing raids by MIG jets that rocked the village where he was working undercover as a medic tending to the sick, the wounded and the dying.

He never forgot the sound, or the smell, or the simple fear that gripped his stomach during those three months. And right up until he departed in March for his second unauthorised excursion into Afghanistan, he told his friends, "I must be crazy to go back."

But he did anyway, this time as a sound man working on a film documentary funded by the anti-communist Unification Church of Reverend Sun Myung Moon.

The quintessential California kid a six-foot-four blue-eyed blond with a quiet manner and a smile like sunshine once again darkened his hair, tanned his skin, put in brown contacts and grew his beard long so he could pass for just another Afghan peasant.

He once told a medical group that American doctors should not hesitate to go into Afghanistan to administer aid, providing they took the proper precautions.

Travel only with established groups that can provide proper protection.

He warned them: "You're never going to be completely safe."

And yet he seemed to ignore his own advice his second time out, to despatch to publicise what he saw as Soviet genocide.

He went with a film-maker he hardly knew, doing a job he'd never trained for, under funding from a highly controversial church, and with a guide who turned back three days into the trip.

The result was tragic. On October 11, according to the anti-Soviet Afghan Resistance, Jim Lindolf and New Jersey film-maker Lee Shapiro were killed in Paghman, a snow-topped mountain area just west of the capital of Kabul.

Word of their deaths took nearly two weeks to reach United States officials in Pakistan. Some friends had tried to warn him.

"I think you're making a mistake," Doctor Robert Simon, assistant professor of emergency medicine at the University of California, had told him.

"His answer was he understood the danger," Simon recalls. "But he still wanted to go in."

Lindolf had come from a big family in Folsom, California, to train in Los Angeles as an emergency medical technician.

It seemed the perfect career choice, considering what friends describe as his "very kind, very caring" nature.

Just having him around made people feel good.

"When he walked into a room he just lit it up. He was sunshine," says Nancy Aossy, who knew him for years.

He got a job at UCLA's prestigious emergency medical centre as a trauma technician helping the nursing staff, halfway in status and responsibility between a paramedic and an orderly.

There he met Simon, who had been the first United States doctor to enter Afghanistan after the 1979 Soviet invasion.

While studying atrocities in the Third World in 1983, Simon had discovered that there was a critical need for medical care inside Afghanistan, especially after the Soviets had ordered all international relief organisations out of the combat-ravaged country.

Deciding he needed a firsthand look, Simon sneaked into Afghanistan in the spring of 1984 and emerged profoundly moved.

He appealed to 52 international relief organisations to come to the Afghans' aid, but all turned him down on grounds they couldn't respond unless invited in by the host government.

Undaunted, Simon sold his Malibu house in September 1984 to provide the seed money for the Los Angeles-based international medical corps, a non-profit organisation that would provide medical care "where no others dared to go".

In July 1985, the organisation set up a training centre in neighboring Pakistan. There United States doctors and nurses trained Afghans to return to their homeland as surgically capable medics.

The young medic volunteered to work for the medical corps. But Lindolf wanted to go inside Afghanistan, and Federal funding prevented the organisation from sending Americans into the war zone.

He found another way. Joining with Houston surgeon Ron Halbert, 30, and a medical team from the Swedish Aid Committee, Lindolf left in July 1985 on a three-month trip into Afghanistan funded by the American Aid for Afghans, a non-profit humanitarian group based in Grand Farr, Oregon.

It was a hard trip that took a severe physical toll. He travelled nearly 300 miles by foot over 18,000-foot mountain passes, and braved blizzard conditions along treacherous cliffs.

According to a journal he kept, he felt "sick as a dog" with nausea, vomiting and diarrhea, collapsed from the strain of climbing the steepest slopes and woke up screaming from leg cramps because of all the walking.

To make matters worse, he was eight inches taller than the average Afghan man, so he had to "scrunch

down" constantly to pass for one of them.

In all, his team established three hospitals and 22 paramedic stations in cliffside caves located so they could withstand day and night Soviet bombing raids in the 60-mile-long Panjshir Valley, a rebel stronghold in isolated and rugged country.

Treating a total 333 patients, Lindolf served as an anesthesiologist during operations, prepared the medications and monitored the patients during the surgeries.

He also found himself taking part in amputations in the dark, with the aid of only a flashlight, a lantern and crudely sterilised instruments.

"You didn't need the advanced knowledge of a doctor or a nurse to be effective there," he told one reporter afterwards.

Still, he was shocked at the atrocities he saw daily. One haunting picture from that first trip shows him holding the detonator to a Butterfly bomb in one hand and the leg of an Afghan who had stepped on one of the bombs, in the other.

Lindolf and other Western medical workers inside Afghanistan claimed the bombs are designed specifically to maim. Their targets often are children because the bombs appear on the ground like harmless toys.

Later Lindolf would testify before Congress about what appeared to be a third-generation chemical bomb that had been dropped by parachutes, "raining fiery tar that would stick to humans and burn through metal."

When Lindolf returned to UCLA, it was obvious to everyone that he had been profoundly changed.

Physically, he was reminded of the trip every time he looked in the mirror, because the dye still hadn't grown out of his hair or his beard.

All the while, he was trying to drum up support for the Afghan Resistance. He spoke to a Congressional forum sponsored by the Committee for a Free Afghanistan, on Voice of America and Radio Free Liberty; to the UCLA medical school — to anyone who would listen.

Lindolf wrote an account of his trip, drawn from his 200-page Afghan journal, for the *Sacramento Bee*, where his brother Bill works as a reporter.

Lindolf talked about the possibility of turning the journal into a book.

Lindolf complained to friends that most of the news footage from Afghanistan was too superficial mostly because it had been shot near the Pakistani border.

"He said no one had ever really filmed a stinger (missile) going off or had ever shown a helicopter bombing a village," notes Simon.

"He was not even a reporter but a medic, and still he wanted to shoot some proper footage."

The medic began looking into the possibility of making a documentary film about Afghanistan. Eventually, he met Lee Shapiro, a 38-year-old film-maker from North Bergen, New Jersey.

Shapiro had gotten into documentary work late in life.

"What he really wanted to do was to make musical comedies," says his assistant, Ellen Hori.

A graduate of the London Film School, Shapiro was a member of Moon's Unification Church, and it was the church that turned Shapiro into a documentary film-maker.

During a Moon-sponsored trip through Central America in 1983, he learned of the plight of the Miskito Indians, a native population that was resisting the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

"Once he saw the situation in those refugee camps in Honduras, those children with bloated bellies, those fighters who had sacrificed so much, he felt a connection with the people who he felt were suffering," says Hori.

He quickly received funding from Causa International, a non-profit educational organisation founded in 1980 by Moon to promote anti-communist activities.

The documentary he produced, entitled *Nicaragua was our Home*, accused the Sandinista Government of the calculated brutalisation of the Miskito Indians.

Two years in the making, it was broadcast last year on public television stations around the country. During the filming in Nicaragua, says Hori, Shapiro "began to think about freedom fighters all over the world. ... (and) he knew Afghanistan was a country where just horrible things were happening."

Causa approved a grant for Shapiro to film in Afghanistan and put up about half of the estimated US\$600,000 cost.

Shapiro also received small grants from the John Olin Foundation, a public-affairs funding group headed by former Treasury Secretary William E. Simon, and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, a Milwaukee community fund.

Towards the end of last year, Shapiro needed someone to help him and heard about Lindolf.

"There were a lot of offers, but Lee was looking for somebody who had experience and who seemed fit and was eager to do something like this," Hori says.

As early as 1985, Shapiro had contacted Aziz Sadat, an Afghan native and chairman of Freedom International, a Bellevue, Washington, non-profit organisation that lobbies for anti-communist resistance movements around the world and provides humanitarian help directly to the Afghan Mujahideen.

Shapiro wanted Sadat's help in linking up with the "right group" of Mujahideen so that he could film "the Russian atrocities, the destroyed villages, the refugee camps

and basically cover all the Afghan crisis," Sadat recalls.

In September last year, Sadat and Shapiro arrived in Peshawar to make contact with Hezb-i-Islami, one of the largest and most militantly fundamentalist Islamic guerrilla groups fighting in the Afghan Moujahedeen.

"I felt it was the best organized one in the country," Sadat says.

The rebel leaders agreed to help with a proviso.

"They told him he was going at his own risk and that if anything happened, they could not provide him any protection because there's a war on there."

On this preliminary trip, Sadat took Shapiro across the border on a 21-day walk to the town of Paghman, the Moujahedeen-controlled region in the snow-covered mountains north of Kabul.

The area had been the scene of extensive fighting, with Soviet jets "literally bombing the villages every single day," Sadat says.

Shapiro stayed two months filming. He left in late January, returning to Peshawar in late March with Lindelof. They headed to the central part of the country and then to the north because Shapiro wanted to be "right on the border with the Soviets," Sadat says.

Travelling with a band of 120 Hezb-i-Islami guerrillas, they planned to visit the huge Soviet-Afghan air force base in Farwan Province; neighboring Moujahedeen-controlled Anwarab Province where a super-generator sends power to several parts of Afghanistan; dangerous Kunduz Province in the north; and Badakhshan Province, where a natural gas pipeline extends into the Soviet Union.

The Americans planned to return to Pakistan in October, and to the United States in November.

Sadat bid the film-makers farewell at their first stop of their trip in Khost, a border town that is the location of a big Moujahedeen base and training ground.

Newly married, he felt he had to return home after months of separation.

The Afghan kept track of the two Americans' progress. Two weeks after they had left, he heard that the group had been attacked by Soviet Troops and had lost six people and some horses and equipment. But Shapiro and Lindelof emerged unscathed.

And then one month ago, Sadat received word from Hezb-i-Islami headquarters in Pakistan that the Americans were doing very well and soon would return.

The next word he received was the phone call from the rebel leaders telling him that the movie-makers were dead.

Ahen Asosy heard about Lindelof's death on the news, she was "really shocked. And yet by the same token, he was the kind of person who would risk his life in no uncertain terms if he believed in some-

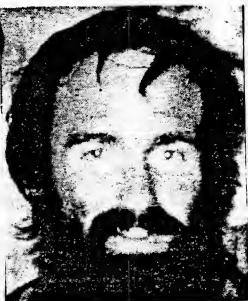
thing. And that's very, very rare I think.

"A lot of people may believe in some cause or idea. But he was that kind of person who believed with a passion."

Hong Kong Standard 11/2



Lee Shapiro



Jim Lindelof

## Afghanistan Slaying Of Journalist Linked By Widow to Soviet

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25 — Linda Shapiro, the wife of an American film journalist, Lee Shapiro, said today that Soviet troops deliberately killed her husband and his soundman last month while they were filming a documentary in northern Afghanistan.

Mrs. Shapiro based her account on the testimony of a guide-interpreter who accompanied Mr. Shapiro at the time of his death on Oct. 9. She said the guide, Abdul Malik, had just arrived in Pakistan and had issued a sworn affidavit on the ambush to the United States Consulate in Peshawar.

At a news conference, Mrs. Shapiro implored President Reagan to place on the agenda of the Soviet-American summit meeting the issue of retrieving the film makers' bodies, as well as the film and journals captured by the Russians.

NYT 11/26

## 2 Americans, Slain With Rebels, Reported Buried

PESHAWAR, Pakistan (AP)—Two Americans killed while filming the war in Afghanistan are buried near a village 25 miles west of Kabul, the capital, according to reports from Afghan guerrillas.

Qarib Rahman, a spokesman for the main Muslim insurgent group Hezb-i-Islami, said Afghanistan's Communist government had put a price on the heads of Lee Shapiro, 33, of New York, and technician Jim Lindelof, 30, of Los Angeles.

Details of how the Americans died in an ambush Oct. 11 came to light this week after their Afghan guide turned up alive in Pakistan.

The guide, Abdul Malik, limping from a leg wound, met with U.S. officials and representatives of Shapiro's family, U.S. officials said. Malik did not attend a scheduled meeting with reporters.

According to Malik's account, Rahman said, the Americans had been filming inside Afghanistan for 5½ months when the insurgents they were traveling with were surprised by four Soviet helicopters in the Sanglakh Valley.

He said Lindelof was on horseback, weak from hepatitis, and was killed by a rocket during the first strafing run. Shapiro was wounded by bullets in the second pass, Rahman said.

After the guerrillas fled, the helicopters landed and unloaded a dozen Soviet soldiers, who took the gear of the Americans and two dead guerrillas, Rahman said, then shot Shapiro twice in the chest.

Guerrillas returned and found Shapiro alive, but he died three hours later, according to the guide's account. Rahman said the bodies of the Americans were taken for burial to Jalrez, a village three miles to the south and about 25 miles from Kabul. . . .

Informers told the Hezb-i-Islami insurgents there was a bounty on the two Americans of \$2,900 if captured and \$1,800 if killed, Rahman said. However, Rahman said he doubted if there was any connection between the reward and their deaths.

"They were dressed in [Afghan] clothes and looked the same as *moujahedeen* [guerrillas] from the air," he said. "The Russians left the only evidence they had."

## Near Afghan Village

Los Angeles Times

NOVEMBER 26, 1987



## DESPERATE MOVES TO KEEP THEIR CLIENTS IN POWER IN AFGHANISTAN GIVE SIGNS OF FUTURE SOVIET CONDUCT IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

As enthusiasm grows in the US over the possibility of arms reductions and of reaching an accord with the Soviet Union, questions arise concerning other issues confronting the two superpowers, among them the question of Afghanistan. Although some people seem to sidestep this important test of future Soviet behavior, thoughtful observers wonder why, if the Soviets really mean peace, the Soviet Union doesn't withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

The Soviets sense this concern. In a "Nightline" program recently, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Gennady Girasimov, revealed the new foreign relations-conscious face of the USSR. He said, among other things, that in the case of Afghanistan they, the Soviets, were working to get their forces out; that the Afghan Gov't had started a process of reconciliation which had to be given a chance; that this required a stopping of US arms to the Afghans fighting the present regime and that in this area the Soviets needed the help of the US. Parallel remarks were made by the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Washington & the UN General Assembly who said, "We have taken the decision to withdraw from Afghanistan." Soviet officials may phrase their statements in a way that paints a favorable picture of their intentions, but they cannot fully convince thoughtful individuals of much sincerity behind their words, especially if full attention is paid to Soviet actions in Afghanistan.

The campaign that the Soviets have underway makes it appear to the average person that under Gorbachev the USSR is trying to disentangle itself from foreign adventures, that it is desperately trying to take care of its domestic economic problems and working for the elimination of its nuclear arsenal to create a peaceful world. In short, the Soviets, having seen successive condemnations of their actions in Afghanistan, are now trying to show themselves to the world community as different from what they really are. They blame the Afghan mujahideen (whom they call "bandits") for not accepting their offers of reconciliation, the US Gov't for arming the mujahideen, and Pakistan and others for giving sanctuary to the Afghans and helping them.

This is inconceivable. How can the world forget the Soviet subversion eight years ago that brought to power a group of bloodthirsty criminals against whom the Afghans had to fight with sticks and stones and then, when these thugs were sure to be defeated, the Soviet's ruthless intervention to subdue the Afghan nation and force it to accept an alien ideology? Is the world so short of memory that it will allow the well-documented suffering of the Afghans at the hands of the Soviets to be whitewashed with a few deceptive words? Can the bait of an arms agreement with the US or enormous pressure on Pakistan lead to a so-called political settlement in which the suffering Afghans will have no part?

President Reagan in his speech to the UN General Assembly gave the US Gov't's answer to some of these questions. He said, "The world community must continue to insist on genuine self-determination, prompt and full Soviet withdrawal and the return of the refugees to their homes in safety and honor." Referring to Gorbachev's "statement of readiness to withdraw," Reagan repeated his request that the Soviets set a date this year to withdraw. Then he pledged, "Once the Soviet Union shows convincingly that it's ready for genuine political settlement, the US is ready to be helpful."

Let us see what this "help" that the Soviets want from the US entails. From the Soviet point of view, the American help would require the US to abandon the mujahideen to the superior weaponry of the Soviets. For several years the Soviets have pillaged the Afghan countryside, inflicting death, destruction and suffering on innocent Afghan civilians. Only recently, with the help of some Stinger missiles

from the US, have the Afghans been able to turn the tide in their favor by making Soviet air power less effective, thus saving the lives of innocent civilians. The USSR wants this stopped and the Afghans forced to accept a political settlement that the Kabul-puppet regime may be able to conclude with Pakistan in the UN-mediated talks. This is what they call "help" from the US. Behind all the sophistry about political settlement, argument about a withdrawal timetable, and pursuit of peace, there lurks the real Soviet aim of possibly giving a token recognition to some faction of the Afghan resistance while working to keep communist power alive in Afghanistan.

As for the Afghans, while they are thankful for the help from America and Pakistan and other concerned nations, they clearly see that any imposition of a plan that does not entail genuine self-determination, or one that is concocted by the present Kabul-puppet regime with no endorsement from the mujahideen, will be doomed to fail. The Afghans have no choice but to think that such plans play into the hands of a new public relations-minded Soviet regime whose agents try to sow confusion and discord among the mujahideen and plant some hesitancy in the resolve of those genuinely interested in helping the Afghans.

If we analyze statements by Soviet officials, we see that in the case of Afghanistan the Soviets are desperately trying to keep their puppet regime in power, to hold traditionally nonaligned Afghanistan under their control, and to offer meaningless reconciliation gestures which in reality are aimed at weakening the overwhelmingly popular Afghan uprising. The Soviets calculate that their shrewdly-timed talks of reconciliation will raise their international stature. At the very least, they can dupe the international community into thinking that the Soviets are doing everything to extricate themselves from the unpopular Afghan war. But when the time comes for them to really negotiate they will never give up anything substantive.

One example of Soviet insincerity came to light at the last round of Geneva talks in September. The Kabul regime announced with much fanfare that it had a new timetable for the Soviet troop withdrawal. What they offered was a withdrawal time of 16, instead of 18, months. The Soviets obviously felt that it would be difficult for them to keep the Kabul regime from collapsing in the shorter period of time. Meanwhile the Soviets not only stepped up their subversion in Pakistan to try to force Pakistan to accept their terms, but also sent over 30 delegations to nonaligned countries to persuade them to change their votes on the international demand for troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Predictably, an editorial in the NYT ("Withdrawal Agonies in Afghanistan," 10/10/87) talks of "telltale shifts" in Gorbachev's position and recounts various moves such as removing the communist name from the Kabul regime, offering an unspecified role to former king Zahir Shah, the readiness to accept a regime that "could be split evenly with the Communists," as signs of Soviet agonies in facing withdrawal. But what the Times misses is the fact that under such tactics the Soviets can lay no foundation for a settlement because it is precisely such tactics which raise doubts about "providing autonomy for the Afghans." Regardless of what the Afghans may think of whoever may be named or whatever composition may be offered by either superpower, the very inference will mar any semblance to self-determination. "Guaranteeing nonalignment to satisfy Moscow" is in itself a contradiction. How can Afghan nonalignment satisfy Moscow when it was Moscow that interfered in nonaligned Afghanistan in the first place and is still interfering by insisting on a formula of Moscow's choosing? Gorbachev is not seeking a solution to the Afghan problem; rather he is trying to assassinate Afghan resistance personalities by association and to increase disunity among the Afghans. When the Times speaks of "deeply split" insurgent groups and the need for unity among them, it is pointing to a serious problem that needs to be addressed, but to consider Moscow-style remedies to avoid "the need of choosing between the Iranian-style fundamentalists and the secular nationalists" is a grave error and will lend itself to more schism among the Afghans, something Gorbachev is counting on. There are some entrenched positions among the

resistance factions but fears of "fundamentalism" from a nation that wants only to gain its independence and restore its right to self-determination do not make much sense.

The Soviets may want to leave Afghanistan because they have not been able to conquer the Afghans but they want their object achieved in a much easier way: an imposed political settlement between the Kabul regime posing as the Afghan side and Pakistan, a country crushed under the enormous burden of Afghan refugees and faced with internal strife fanned by KGB subversion. Gorbachev's peaceful posture shows that he realizes that he can gain more to reach his objectives through guarantees offered by the US and others not to help the mujahideen than through his failing war in Afghanistan.

People in the US and the rest of the world may be intrigued by Gorbachev for a while, but if he delays his withdrawal from Afghanistan any further, whatever the excuses, the world will soon realize the shallowness of his words. In the interest of humanity we pray that there will come a real change in the Soviet system, but Soviet actions so far speak more of trickery than of genuine change of heart.

Qasem Ghazanfar  
Bloomingdale, NJ

To the Editor:

I refer to the review by Matthew Erulkar of "Afghanistan 1985/86, the effects of Soviet occupation & warfare" in Afghanistan Forum, vol XV, #5 of 9/87.

I am very grateful for the remarks on the not-quite-correct translation of certain military terms. Besides, I'd like to make two minor corrections: there already exists an English translation by the Congressional Research Service of a former brochure. These two English versions can be bought from us for \$5 - mailing costs included.

Paul Bucherer-Dietschi, Director  
Bibliotheca Afghanistanica  
Benzburweg 5  
CH -4410 Liestal, Switzerland

## rugs:

By VICKY JENKINS

WHEN buying a carpet or a rug, a good investment to consider might be one made in Afghanistan. But you must make sure that it is the genuine article, woven from hand-spun *karakul* (Persian lamb) wool in traditional design.

What *not* to buy would be one of those rugs made by Afghani refugees who have fled to Pakistan.

"Their workmanship is not bad, but they are not using traditional yarns and the rugs do

not wear nearly so well," said Mr Richard Parsons, of Tribal Arts and Crafts, Hongkong.

Mr Parsons, who has two shops specialising in ethnic and tribal carpets, travels frequently to Afghanistan and reports that since the Russians entered the country in December 1979, rug and carpet production has diminished considerably.

The Afghans are reluctant to weave large carpets nowadays because of the risk - not so much from bombardment - but because of revenge attacks by the Soviet-backed Govern-

ment forces.

Apparently many villages are known to harbour or assist the *mujahdeen* rebels and after a successful guerilla attack the government takes reprisals.

Troops will descend on an offending village and slash the carpets on the looms. Consequently, smaller rugs have a better chance of completion because they take less time to weave.

"Another problem they face out there is severe drought; for the past two years the lack of water has killed many sheep," said Mr Parsons. "So a well-made Afghan rug is a good investment. However, some shops in Hongkong are unscrupulous and may pass off refugees' wares from Pakistan as the genuine article." • • •

When it comes to the meanings of the designs, many have been lost in antiquity, although three themes seem to dominate. The first is "religious" although that does not necessarily mean Islamic - more a concept of primitive fertility, such as a germinating seed or an ear of corn.

The paisley design, for instance, much used in Persian weaving, is thought to have evolved from a germinating-almond design. It is also believed to have come from much farther east than Persia, possibly Western China.

Another theme is totemistic. Class distinctions existed among certain tribes such as the Turkomans. For instance, when one clan ate with another,

a certain part of the animal would go to one clan, another part to the other. It would seem that the Ersari Turkoman Dali would have the saddle of the animal as their portion because their rug designs incorporate a stylised rib-cage.

And a third theme is taken from nature - using flowers, seeds and leaves and so on.

"But often designs appear and disappear as different facets of life strike the rug-makers," said Mr Parsons. "The modern *beluch* type of rugs from Afghanistan have tanks, helicopters and other images of war woven into their designs. After all, carpet-weaving is an art and no living art is static." • • •

This use of natural dyestuffs is one of the main points to look for when buying a genuine tribal rug. Another is that the rug should be made entirely of wool - although nowadays there is a tendency towards cotton warps and wefts. Another way to recognise a true tribal rug is that the designs are geometric because the hand-spun yarn is thicker than machine-spun material and a circle would have to be depicted as a series of short lines.

And of course, this hand-spun yarn would come from only one breed of sheep as opposed to a blend of several breeds, possibly from different countries.

SUNDAY MORNING POST  
OCTOBER 11, 1987

EVENTS Continued from p. 1.

ghanistan will be \$45m in 1988 for agricultural, health & educational projects inside Afghanistan - 25% of AID aid will go to private voluntary organizations - some of them French. The University of Nebraska has an AID contract to produce textbooks, provide literacy programs & train Afghan educators. The Soviets offered an aid package while US aid was suspended. In the last 3 months the cost of transporting supplies into Afghanistan has tripled. Supposedly there are 9m people left inside Afghanistan; 25-30% of them being Hazaras. Malnutrition has increased in the last 2 years. The Swedish Committee for Afghanistan sent pamphlets on the war & the refugee situation to all UNGA delegates & UN organizations in New York before the UN vote on Afghanistan. [We did not call the Bhutan Mission to the UN to see if the information caused Bhutan to change to a "yes" vote.]

The Anglo Afghan Circle held a fundraiser on 11/21. The November issue of COUNTRY LIFE put it this way:

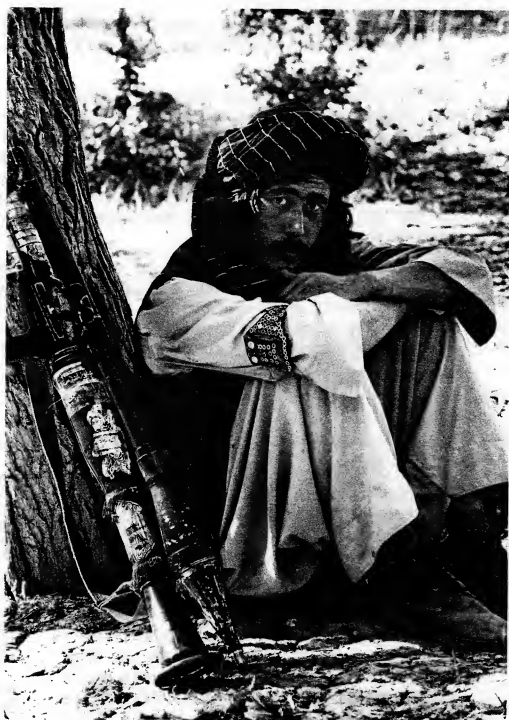
BRITAIN has historic connections with Afghanistan, from the imperial days of the Khyber Pass and North-West Frontier. The Victorians came to recognise the Afghans as a proud, independent and, in colonial terms, often difficult people, determined to assert their tribal and national rights against European incursions. But those same incursions made the British aware of the richness of native culture, of ancient skills in weaving and embroidery, metalworking and carving. Ever since, the distinctive beauty of Afghan crafts has been highly prized.

In our own time, of course, the Afghans are facing the severest challenge to their national life. To increase British awareness of that struggle and the culture it threatens, the Anglo-Afghan Circle has been formed by a group including Peers Carter, former British ambassador to Afghanistan, the television journalist Sandy Gall, and eminent Afghan refugees.

From 7.30 to 10.30pm on November 21, at the Conway Hall in London's Red Lion Square, the Circle will be presenting a gala Afghan evening, complete with music, dance, national costumes and stalls selling handicrafts. A £5

ticket includes an Afghan supper, which might well tempt one to purchase the handsomely produced cookery book *Noshe Dian*, written

by Helen Šaberi, the British wife of an Afghan founder-member of the Circle.



AFRANE, B.P. 254, 75524 Paris, cedex 11, France, has beautiful note & post cards of Afghan scenes which they sell to raise funds to help the Afghans. (See above.) Cards with envelopes are 4 for 25 Ff; cards without envelopes are 5 Ff each.

The Dari & Pashto Service of Voice of America plans to carry messages of support from Afghans in the US to those still living in Afghanistan. Project PAYAM is also available to Afghans who wish to send personal messages to relatives in Afghanistan. The toll-free number for PAYAM for both Dari & Pashto is 800-53-PAYAM. For further information about the service, call (202) 485-8351, 2, or 3 for the Dari Service or (202) 485- 8325, 485-8317 for the Pashto Service. (Those calls are not toll-free.)

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

"The Asian Vortex" by Robert Cabot & Robert Fuller in the HARVARD MAGAZINE, November/December 1987.

"The Soviet Union and Afghanistan in 1987" by Louis Dupree in CURRENT HISTORY, October 1987.

"Afghanistan 2101 A.D.: The Worst Possible Scenario - Prelude to Balkanization" by Louis Dupree in TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES, Vol. XII, #5, 1986.

The October issue of AFGHANISTAN INFO, the newsletter of the Swiss Afghanistan Support Committee, lists the following items:

NATIONAL ATLAS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN, Ed. Geokart, Poland, 1987. DM 180.-

"Sociopolitical Adjustment Among Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" by Pierre Centlivres & Micheline Centlivres-Demont in MIGRATION WORLD MAGAZINE (New York) XV/4. ZEIT DER FLÜCHTLINGE by Urs Gfeller, Migros, Zurich, 1987.

"Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan" & "Afghanistan" by Olivier Roy in L'ÉTAT DU MONDE, an int'l economic & geopolitical annual, 1987-88 edition, La Decouverte, Paris, 1987.

THE FIRMEST BOND (an Islamic Unity Magazine, P.O. Box 82, 1218 Geneva, Switzerland), Autumn, 1987, contains a number of articles on Afghan culture, politics & the resistance.

AFGHANISTAN 1986/87 - "Int'l strategische Lage und Sowjetisierung Afghanistans" by Albert Stahel & Paul Bucherer, Huber & Co. 12/87, for the Swiss Afghan Archive. 25 pp. (In German)

AFGHANICA, The Afghan Studies Newsletter, P.O. Box 273, Oxford OX1 1AQ, United Kingdom, is edited by Jadwiga Pstrusinska. The objective of the bi-annual newsletter is to create an effective way for scholars to communicate their interest in Afghanistan. The 1st issue came out in 9/87. The annual subscription is \$9.00

HUMAN RIGHTS IN AFGHANISTAN - MYTHS & REALITY, Afghanistan Today Publishing House, Kabul, 1987. 95 pp., paper.

SOVIET POWs IN AFGHANISTAN by Ludmilla Thorne, Freedom House, 10/86. 40 pp.

The October issue of REFUGEES lists two books that may be of interest: DIRECTORY OF SERVICES FOR REFUGEES & IMMIGRANTS, edited by Alan Schorr, The Denali Press, Box 1535, Juneau, Alaska 99802. 375 pp. \$29.95 (includes postage).

A LIBERAL & HUMANE POLICY FOR REFUGEES & ASYLUM SEEKERS by Johan Cels, European Consultation on Refugees & Exiles, 4 South Lambeth Place, London SW8, UK.

FREE AFGHANISTAN UPDATE is a new publication of the Committee For A Free Afghanistan, 214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Suite 480, Washington, D.C. 20002 (202-546-7577). Vol. 1, #1 appeared in November. It will be issued periodically along with the CFA's Free Afghanistan Report newsletter.

ARZT BEI DEN VERGESSENEN IN AFGHANISTAN by Dr. Karl Viktor Freigang was published for the Bonner Afghanistan-Komitee by Promultis in 1986. 85 pp. ISBN 3-921843-70-7.

WHAT YOU HEAR & WHAT WE EXPERIENCE is a pamphlet with color photos published by the Cultural Dept. of the Nat'l Islamic Front of Afghanistan. 16 pp.

CHEMIN DE DIEU by Khwadja Abdullah Ansari, translated & introduced by Serge de Beaurecueil, Sindbad Press, 1985.

LE MODJAHEDINE BLANC by Philippe Berrier-Sarda, France-Empire. 205 pp.

MONGOL IMPERIALISM, THE POLICIES OF THE GRAND QAN MÖNGKE IN CHINA, RUSSIA, & THE ISLAMIC LANDS by Thomas Allsen, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley. \$35.

THE FALL OF AFGHANISTAN, AN INSIDER'S ACCOUNT by Abdul Samad Ghaus, former Deputy Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, Pergamon-Brassey's Int'l Defense Publishers, Washington, NY & London, 1988. 212 pp. Ca. \$25.

The complete documentation of the Int'l Hearings on Afghanistan held in Stockholm last April is available from the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, Essingerengen 90, S112 64, Stockholm, Sweden, for 100 Swedish crowns.

AFGHANISTAN. THE GREAT GAME REVISITED, edited by Rosanne Klass, will be published by Freedom House on 1/15/88. The 530-page book will be distributed by University Press of America, Inc., 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20706. (301 459-3366). The paperback is \$19.95. ISBN 0-932088-15-5.

The US State Dept.'s Special Report #173, AFGHANISTAN: EIGHT YEARS OF SO-VIET OCCUPATION, was prepared by Craig Karp and issued in December 1987. The 24-page report is available from the US Dept. of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20520.

THE TRAGEDY OF AFGHANISTAN, edited by Bo Hultdt, was published by the Swedish Inst. of Int'l Affairs in November. The 256-page book has chapters on "The country & its agriculture," "The country & its people," "Afghan learning & education," "The war," & "The exile."

AFGHANISTAN: THE HUMAN TRAGEDY was published by the British Refugee Council, Bondway House, 3/9 Bondway, London, SW8 15J (01-582-6922), in September.

LES REFUGIES AFGHANS, prepared by Etienne Gille for Les Nouvelles d'Afghanistan, December 1987. 40 pp.

REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL ON INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN is a 29-page typewritten report by an ad hoc multinational panel of experts in int'l law, especially humanitarian law. The report is dated 11/18/87 and was sponsored by the Committee for a Free Afghanistan.

A Pashtu edition of OPPOSITION OF THE USSR TO THE OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN by Taras Kuzio was published by the Afghan Jehad Works Translation Centre in August. The Centre published a Dari version of MENSCHENRECHTE IN AFGHANISTAN by Sayed Faqir Alawi in September.

"The War Brings Discontent Inside Afghanistan & the USSR" appeared in the July-August edition of SOVIET MUSLIMS BRIEF, published by the Islamic Fda., 223 London Road, Leicester, UK.

## AFGHAN INVASION

AND WE THOUGHT HOLLYWOOD had overdone it with the Vietnam War movies. In the last year we've had *Heartbreak Ridge* and *Platoon* and *Hanoi Hilton* and *Gardens of Stone* and *Full Metal Jacket* and *Hamburger Hill*. This year Hollywood's favorite war is the Afghanistan-USSR conflict. At last count there were eight films being made on the subject:

- *Beast of War* (working title) should be distributed by Columbia Pictures in February. A group of Afghan freedom fighters stalks the Soviet tank crew that destroyed its village.
- Tri-Star plans to release *Rambo III*, starring Sylvester Stallone, next summer. This time Rambo will be reunited with his mentor, Colonel Trautman (played by Richard Crenna), in Afghanistan.
- *Nobody's War*, an independent feature from the Chariot Entertainment Group, was scheduled to be filmed in Morocco this fall. It is based on the real-life experiences of 37-year-old actor Perry Morgan, who visited Afghanistan in 1981.
- Hemdale (the same people who brought us *Platoon*) has developed *In Honor Bound*, based on Gerald Seymour's spy-adventure novel set in Afghanistan. It is scheduled to go into production next spring.
- *Caught in the Crossfire*, now in development at the De Laurentiis Entertainment Group, is based on the non-fiction book by *Ladies' Home Journal's* executive editor, Jan Goodwin, who dressed as a man to travel with freedom fighters in Afghanistan.
- Ken Follett is writing a screenplay based on his recent novel, *Lie Down With Lions*, about a love triangle set in Afghanistan.
- *Goodbye, Kamal* (working title), being developed by HBO Pictures, is about an American father searching for his kidnapped daughter in Afghanistan.
- Robert Kamen, who wrote the first two *Karate Kids*, is writing a movie for Columbia about an American doctor in Afghanistan who fights to save Afghan children from annihilation by the Russians.

PREMIERE DECEMBER 1987

To keep all this wonderful information coming, be sure to renew your subscription!

### NEW RESTAURANT

The Panjshir Restaurant recently opened at 6824 Odana Road in Madison, Wisconsin (608-833-5588). Ghafoor & Saboor Zafari, the owners, also run The Second Story Restaurant in Madison. We hear that the food is excellent.



WORDS & DEEDS is the title of a VHS tape on the situation in Afghanistan available from the British Information Service. Contact Stewart Grainger, BIS, Policy Division, 845 3rd Avenue, New York, NY 10022 (212-752-8400 Ext. 251) for further information. BIS also has other cassettes on Afghanistan.



## BOOK REVIEW

AFGHAN RESISTANCE. THE POLITICS OF SURVIVAL, edited by Grant Farr & John G Merriam, Westview Special Studies in Int'l Relations, Westview Press, Boulder & London, 1987.

In any other context this collection of essays would seem improbably disparate. Collected within one volume of barely 200 pages are articles ranging in topic from arms shipments to class structure, from political factions to refugee relief. Editors Farr & Merriam present a set of "related...separate realities" which, in their diversity, remind us of the many levels in which Afghans have struggled to survive over the past decade. Each of the seven studies is "focused" and little attempt is made to relate them with each other. For someone already versed in the ongoing Afghanistan crisis, this scattergun format represents no problem; a newcomer may find himself perplexed.

For this reviewer the most successful pieces are those with a) the most precisely defined focus and b) the freshest first-hand data. By such criteria, David Edwards' "Origins of the Anti-Soviet Jihad" deserves its pride of place as Chapter One. Edwards explains, Decree by Decree, how political naiveté and plain stupidity on the part of PDPA leadership alienated the populace in the summer and fall of 1978. Here his case study is most effective as we learn of events during that period in the region of Khas Kunar where a religious leader details his saga of gradual disaffection. Incorporated in this account is the tactical transition from tribal lashkar to guerrilla band as the earliest mujahideen combat groups adapted old attitudes to modern operations. One hopes that Edwards, with his obvious combination of solid data and analytical skills, will publish more on this earliest phase of the war - and even on the proto-jihad which preceded it when, during Daoud's presidency, the first elements of religious opposition began to coalesce in Peshawar.

Editor John Merriam's "Arms Shipments to the Afghan Resistance" rambles a bit (in pardonable imitation of the circuitous arms routes themselves) and lingers overlong on Egypt (Merriam's primary field of expertise) but provides a helpful outline to this murky subject. We learn, among other things, how very difficult it is to learn the true intimacies of the Cairo and Chinese connections. Merriam speculates on why Anwar Sadat, a month before his assassination, went public with Egypt's role in the arms shipment. Finally, the article includes a short assessment of the use and effectiveness of various Soviet weapons - against Soviet and DRA forces. Merriam's piece was written before the arrival of Stingers. It will be interesting to hear what he knows about their shipment and deployment.

Grant Farr's "The New Afghan Middle Class: Refugees and Insurgents" benefits from a sociological perspective in the first three pages: the new middle class is "a horizontal layer in a largely vertically structured society." Farr correctly identifies education as the key element in the growth of this new group and provides a useful review of educational development in pre-war Afghanistan, especially of its interplay with the Dari-Pushtu language issue. And finally, tragically, we understand better how "the new middle class is now largely left out of a war that needs their help."

The four other articles deal with refugee women, refugee rationales for leaving Afghanistan, leadership styles, and humanitarian cross-border efforts. While instructive, these lack the same cutting edge. Kerry Connor's "Rationales for the Movement of Afghan Refugees to Peshawar" asks very good questions in not-so-good ways. Her emphasis on quantification and correlation seems to restrict, rather than enhance, what I suspect to be truly intriguing data. Would a narrative, qualitative approach to this issue tell more, even if it said less?

# ORGANIZATIONS

The board of AMERICAN AID FOR AFGHANS will cease working as a corporation and requests that those who want to continue helping the Afghans send contributions to the INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL CORPS, 10880 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 2008, Los Angeles, CA 90024. The IMC has been awarded a grant from US AID to supervise the selection of Afghan patients who will come to the US for surgery which cannot be provided in Pakistan. 40 patients per month will come to the States for treatment which will mostly involve orthopaedic & plastic surgery. IMC's 24 clinics inside Afghanistan treat over 30,000 patients per month.

The ANGLO AFGHAN CIRCLE was formed last February by a group of British & Afghan people. Its objectives are to campaign for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan & to end foreign intervention there, to inform & mobilize public opinion in Britain, & to help Afghans living in Britain with some of their special problems. Annual dues are \$5 (\$2.50 for students, unemployed & senior citizens). Dues can be sent to the Circle at 42 West Hill Road, London SW 18, UK.

(See also p. 26)

## PH.D. DISSERTATION

Kerry M. Connor

An Analysis of the Residential Choices of Afghan Refugees in Peshawar, Pakistan

Dept. of Geography, University of Nebraska - Lincoln. 1987.

Michael W. Albin, ex-PCV in Afghanistan & currently with the Library of Congress, has received the Martinus Nijhoff Int'l West European Specialist Study Grant. The grant was presented by the American Library Assn. & is sponsored by Martinus Nijhoff Int'l. Albin will receive 2 weeks' travel expense for research in Europe. He will meet with representatives of Afghan refugee groups & agencies in the Netherlands, West Germany & Switzerland.

## Group of seven provides free aid to Mujahideen

Mohyiddin and his wife, Talea, visited Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan. Tahir Mohyiddin visited the camps as a consultant - an international health matters for the Illinois State Medical Society.

Almost 10 years ago in the rocky terrain of Afghanistan, the hands of a 15-year-old guerrilla named Mohammad Jaffer were severely injured when a Soviet napalm bomb exploded.

But this month in Alton - half a world away - Jaffer began a series of operations that will restore the use of his hands and remove a bullet left in his shoulder by a subsequent ambush by Soviet soldiers.

And the operations won't cost him a cent.

Jaffer's medical care is being donated by Voluntary Physicians for Afghan Refugees, a group of seven doctors led by Dr. Sadiq Mohyiddin of Godfrey Hospital in Peshawar, Pakistan, on a hospital care & being provided free by St. Anthony's Hospital in Alton.

If the doctors' plan goes well, Jaffer will be the first of many Afghan rebels brought to this area at no cost to them for medical treatment unavailable in Afghanistan or neighboring Pakistan, where 3.5 million Afghan refugees live.

Mohyiddin and the other doctors began working with other Pakistanis in the US to put together a programme to provide free treatment for the refugees.

He said 300 Afghans were on the programme waiting list. The doctors here were given calls on 20 refugees; they chose five, and Jaffer was among the first.

Another man sent by Jaffer is being treated in Houston.

"Tajarians that cannot be taken care of over there," Mohyiddin said. "They need micro-surgery, special plastic surgery or reliable."

Mohyiddin said about 20 refugees taking part in the programme had been sent to other parts of the country, including Atlanta, New York, Dallas and Houston. About 40 others have been sent to other countries, including Sweden, Germany and Egypt.

On Nov. 3, Jaffer underwent a 3-hour operation, the first of several needed over the next two to three months to repair the damage to his hands. He lost some of his fingers in the explosion, and the nurse left his remaining fingers curled and his hands deformed.

The fingers will be straightened as much as possible. Mohyiddin said the doctors hoped that much of the use would be restored.

"Not 100 per cent, but a lot better than now," he said.

Jaffer will stay with Pakistani families in St. Louis while he recuperates. After that, he can return to Afghanistan, if he chooses.

Mohyiddin said Jaffer had said he would return to fight again for his country.

"What he does then is up to him," Mohyiddin said, adding: "I'm against fighting. I prefer a peaceful solution to the problem."

Mohyiddin, 41, is an internist and pulmonologist. He came to the United States from Pakistan in 1971. He trained and served his residency at Barnes Hospital and opened his practice in Godfrey in 1971.

The other doctors in the group are Drs. Noor Ahmed, John Iskandil and Abram Grand, and all surgeons; Drs. Richard Lang and Larry Reed, radiologists; and Dr. Fernando DeCastro, an anesthesiologist.

Among those helping with the plan are two social workers - Razia Chahidi and Rehana Khan, who is Tahir Mohyiddin's sister.

Mohyiddin said the doctors had budgeted \$10,000 of their own money for the operations and care.

But they hope to get some donations to help offset the cost.

He also would like to get some of the hospitals to provide free care for more refugees.

"If the hospitals provide the care, I can get the doctors to provide their services," he said.

"The refugees primarily need outpatient care, but for the cost is not high," Mohyiddin said.

Mohyiddin said he had tax-exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service for the Mohyiddin Polyclinic Foundation Hospital - a hospital he plans to build in Pakistan on the Afghan border. He is seeking contributions, which would be tax-exempt.

He said the war in Afghanistan has brought trouble to Pakistan, which supports the rebels. He said Soviet agents were guilty of terrorist attacks and suicide bombings that kill innocent people.

Tahir Mohyiddin, the brother of Sadiq Mohyiddin, is a doctor in Peshawar, Pakistan, on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, when she and her husband, an internist, Dr. Sadiq Mohyiddin, travelled to Pakistan to visit relatives.

She spent an entire day, in the refugee camps to observe medical conditions and refugee needs. She made the visit in her capacity as international health consultant for the Illinois State Medical Society Auxiliary.

"It was rewarding to be there, but a sad experience to see these people suffer," Pakistan doctor said. "I can't see it, but it's not a realistic country, and to accommodate 2.5 million refugees is not easy," she said.

YOU KNOW, I was upset for a week after visiting the camps. The people there didn't have to say anything. Their faces were telling the story of their lives.

"I wanted to go there to let people know what was going on. I heard of fighting, and ammunition being sent, but have no idea how these people are suffering."

Mrs. Mohyiddin said that people move freely from Pakistan to Afghanistan in a "refugee" tradition as Pakistan shares 1,500 miles of border with Afghanistan. Refugees have been walking into Pakistan since December 1979, when the Soviet invasion began.

There are now 230 camp sites in the Peshawar region. "It's a safe haven for them. Where else can they go?" she asked.

"OVER THE YEARS, my husband and I have tried to send medical supplies through our own pocket," she said.

"That's why I wanted to see if I could be of help, or at least bring their message here," she said.

Food and medical aid are not problems, but surgery is a very big problem, she said. "The boys, particularly bad when there is a Russian attack on the Pakistan border and the flood of casualties arrive is great number."

She said that most of the refugees in the overcrowded camps were women - wives of Afghans killed in defense of their country, and their female children. There were few older boys, because, "When the boys reach adolescence, or the age of 16 or 17, they take off. They want to be freedom fighters," she said.

"There were some women with six or seven children and some women, through an interpreter, who was still having children when living in a refugee camp. She said so many of their men were dying, they didn't produce any more men."

SOME WOMEN, who had been married and had families at one time, had not a single man left in their family. "Some had lost husband, father and sons."

— all freedom fighters."

A common problem among the women was depression, she said. "They were worried about their insecurity in a different land about their loved ones left behind, their men who are fighting for

freedom."

Dispensation of medical aid should be spread over a larger number of hospitals. They must go into the cities and sometimes have to wait for a long time for a doctor.

She said basic care, "primitive care," is provided at the camps, but the secondary care is lacking.

"Some of the people have never seen a doctor in their life," Dr. Mohyiddin added.

Mrs. Mohyiddin dispelled one myth that is selling the refugees' supplies. "Here, people get the wrong impression. They think the Pakistan government is sending supplies, but the refugees themselves, in the form of a programme, receive items from the government. They are not familiar, like paupers."

Mrs. Mohyiddin said the refugees themselves sell such unneeded items in order to purchase food they can eat. "The refugees will even sell ammunition to get goods they need."

SHE VISITED a school for orphan girls, who are numerous, floors in classrooms without even crude benches. "It was very cold and mountainous, with the winds blowing like anything," she said.

Most girls are given technical training in a stitchery and embroidery or a skill with which they can support themselves. "Because some of these girls are really beautiful."

Another aid comes into the camps, she reported. "It is not more than a drop in the bucket, but it's a help to look after these people day after day."

These countries have helped, she said, including Saudi Arabia, which has provided financial aid. Pakistan aid camps have been sent from France and the Netherlands, and Italy has sent nursing aid and ammunition. They do need those things for freedom, but need other essentials," Mrs. Mohyiddin said.

Immigration to other countries is not solving the problem, she said. "America and Europe are taking some of them, but only the educated ones. Most are uneducated - it's not fair to leave the uneducated masses."

She said no far no efforts have been made to get the great number of orphaned children adopted. "I asked what would be the future of these girls," she reported, but she got no answer. "But that is a very much on their minds."

CHARLES BOSWORTH & MARY ANN MAZENKO

PT 12/15

## TRIVIA

Q: Who is Ronald Reagan's manicurist?

A: Zaira Aziz, an Afghan.

All told, the editors have assembled a diverse, somewhat uneven, but ultimately worthwhile collection of jihad studies and called it, not unjustifiably, a book. Parts are muddled, some amounts to rehash, but much is of authentic interest. Perhaps its truly unifying theme is found in the authors' common attitude, "This," as the introduction proudly claims, "is a work of love and caring for a people we deeply admire and respect."

Whitney Azo  
Peshawar, Pakistan

## Dari women poets

— Zano-Sukhan-  
ra Dar Foyse Adab Da-  
ri (Women poets in the  
course of Dari literature)  
— Anthology compiled  
by Ali  
— State printing house,  
Kabul, 1987

Every literary and cultural epoch has noted some prominent names and figures of women poets and writers: every literary era has recorded distinguished women as literary characters. These women have reflected not only their individual views

role in the development of our literature and poetry. Generally women poets have depicted in their works themes such as love and womanhood, patriotism and human values. To the extent that images and words of feminine beauty sweep along their poems. Some have internalized the ascribed notion of their destinies and identities. But there are also women who have built a self-realized and questioning mentality against the

contains biographies of selected Dari poets of Afghanistan, Iran, India and Soviet Tajikistan from the 8th century to the present.

The introduction gives a brief historical background of periods distinguishing Rabiha Balkhi during Samanid reign; Shah Jahan during Mogul times and Qazvini. Ali in Iran and discusses literary characteristics of these periods in the light of cultural, historical, and socio-political conditions and events. However, a logical and analytical reflection of these periods is not discussed in the book in link with the work and life of women. In other words, reference to the impact and influence of the socio-political and cultural factors on the intellectual growth and attitudinal development of women in general, and of the poets in particular, would have been an asset in knowing and analysing poets' outlooks.

Even though most of poets in the book have been individually introduced here and there in different texts, a book compiling their poems in one volume can be considered an initiative towards knowing our women writers.

The book contains the biographies of 38 poets with their selected poems, each deserving a separate and close look and analysis which is beyond the scope of this review.

This book can provide a useful source, not only to readers of women's writing, but also to the lovers of Dari poetry who would like to explore further and dig deeper into the wealth of Dari poetry.

(Sh. Sharif)  
KNT 10/28

## 'Shurab': a novelette in Dari

"Shurab" by Babrak Arghand, 186 pages, The State Commission for Press and Publications.

Babrak Arghand is likely to be remembered among those contemporary prose writers who has created intensely in recent years. Readers and literary critics became acquainted with the name of Arghand when his first collection of short stories came out a few years ago. Soon he published "Red Path" and "Neighbour's Right" his two novels before Shurab, his recent venture.

The novelette starts with a description of Shurab (meaning arak, water) a small village of Balkh province, north of Afghanistan, now a green and prosperous village with a thick jungle, high poplars and willows.

The first pages of the book portray a summer's hot and beautiful nights and harvest, but due to the lack of wind all villagers are waiting for winnowing.

All here of the book, Gulu and Khalu are working in the field of Hajl the landlord of the village. Ali is younger and much different in character from other peasants. On an autumnal day, the stable of Hajl burns down while his small kid is in it. When Ali became aware of the accident, he rushed into the stable and save the son of Hajl. This event is a start for Ali to become a hero in the village. He also had saved several times villagers from the attacks of wolves.

The story of bravery and courage of Ali spreads throughout the village and its nearby regions.

At the end of winter, rumour circulated in the village that Hajl is going to marry his beautiful daughter Adina to Ali's peasant.

Rasul, brother of Hajl is opposed to the marriage and considers it an insult to his family. He

is a ruthless, cunning, usurer and an open foe of Ali.

In a dark night, Adina, fallen in love with Ali, comes to Ali on the pretext of fetching water with her ewer. While their love was silent, nei-



ther had expressed it to each other. But this night Adina confessed her deep love to Ali. With her one hand in the water of the stream, she says to her lover: "This pure water will have me after marriage."

The rumors reach the ear of Hajl. He calls his daughter and remarks to her: "I like you just as I like your brother. These days I am hearing something wrong about you. You should keep the dignity of my name and family."

All ultimately undertook a trip to Iran to make money so that he can pay the rubles. Rasul for he doesn't want to marry his niece to a poor man like Ali.

After the victory of April Revolution, Hajl leaves Shurab and comes to Balkh to save his life. His property and tractor fell into the hands of those who attacked the village. The rebels send him appeals to join them as soon as possible. Fed up with the deeds of rebels, Hajl comes to Kabul but soon his son Jalal, who was a spoilt brat disappears.

Hajl combes whole city for his son. But finally Fate, one of their relatives gives him an address

where his son lives. The address is of a brothel. Hajl knows that nothing him closer to the brothel all will laugh at his snow-white beard in such a place. However, he comes to know that his son has been taken away to Pakistan.

All returns home and marry his Adina. Hajl, Ali and their whole family, in a nostalgic fever of the village, leaves Kabul and return back to their native village as well as knowing the war condition in the village.

But they find Shurab in an utterly different shape. Bullets make holes on the muddy walls of the sheds of village. The school is razed to ground and the Hajl's father is extended to all sides.

Hajl gathers together the inhabitants of the village and reconstructs the subterranean canal, buys tractors and seed. All establishes a peasants' cooperative and launches widespread activities in the war-stricken village.

In mid winter the extremists are led by Jalal, the spoilt son of Hajl now famous as Talli Sia. Looking at the injured body of Hajl, his father, Talli Sia gives up his career and comes with Ali and Hajl's peaceful life in the village.

The happy ending is similar to a conventional melodrama. In recent years, a tendency is prevailing in Afghan literature, especially in prose writing by young authors which is more rhetorical in style. Babrak Arghand tries to prove righteousness and inevitability of the revolutionary transformations in villages. He portrays futile actions of the counter-revolution in all his tales. In comparison with the rest of his works, Shurab includes more artistic creativity. Arghand selects his heroes and characters from among common and simple folk. He prefers stereotyped rather than complex and intricate characters. (Dr. Rahmat)

KNT 11/25



and outlooks, but also a collective voice of their societies and times. As much as literature grows along the intellectual development and self-realization process of perceptive individuals, it grows along the social and historical and cultural norms and relations of life. This gives literature both individual and collective nature.

In the history of our literature, contribution of women writers and poets has not been of less importance. Their works played significant

boundaries of their social life. They have voiced their bitterness and resent towards inequalities; some with implicit images and some explicitly.

Compilation and introduction of women writers and poets in Dari literature, hence, is a valuable attempt at appreciation of their contribution to our cultural heritage.

"Women poets in the course of Dari literature" is an introduction on different literary periods of Dari poetry and a preface by the author,

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## PDPA CC plenum held

KABUL, OCT. 18 (BIA) The plenum of the Central Committee of the PDPA was held on October 17, 1987. The plenum evaluated the issues pertaining to the second national party conference on the policy of national reconciliation.

Dr. Najibullah, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council spoke at the plenum about the issues and the agenda and the work of the party national conference which is to be assessed by the delegates to the conference.

The plenum unanimously approved the documents on the agenda and the method of work of the party national conference. The plenum also assessed organizational issues. The plenum unanimously elected Mohammad David Ramiyar, Hakim Mansur, Mohammad Sali Sarfaraz, Mohammad Sher Bahadur, Abdul Fawid Mubtata, Abul Habib, Saaved Vassatullah, Mohammad Wali and Hashmatullah Kahan as full members of the PDPA CC. The plenum promoted Najibullah Kawiani and



Najibullah Kawiani



Niaz Mohammad Momand



Haider Masoud

Niaz Mohammad Momand, alternate members of the Politburo and Secretaries of the PDPA CC to full members of the Politburo of the PDPA CC. The plenum unanimously upgraded Haider Masoud, Secretary of the PDPA CC to full member of the Politburo of the PDPA CC. The plenum of the PDPA CC unanimously elected Shahawaz Tanai, chief of staff of the army as alternate member of the Politburo of the PDPA CC. The plenum unanimously elected Daud Ramiyar, head of the economy department of the PDPA CC as Secretary of the PDPA CC.

The plenum endorsed the post of secretaries of provincial party committees of Kandahar, Herat, Nangarhar and Balkh as that of Secret-



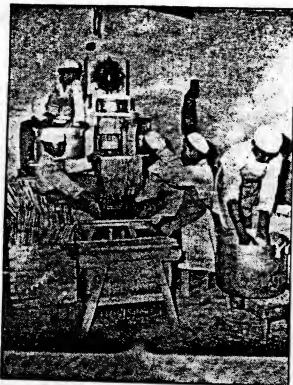
Shahawaz Tanai

aries of the PDPA CC. The plenum also unanimously relieved Mahmud Baryalai, Imtiaz Hassan, Mohammed Yasin Sadiqi, Abdul Ghafar Lakanwal, Anahita Rabeza, Ayub Kargar, Ahmad Shah Surkhabi, Fedah Mohammad Demishin, Gul Aqa, Mohammad Farouq, Moham-



Daud Ramiyar

mad Nasim Joya from the full membership of the PDPA CC as well as Aziz Majid Zadah, Nemattullah, Hamid Poya and Khalil Kargar from the alternate membership of the PDPA CC. The plenum ended its work in an atmosphere of full unity, oneness and revolutionary discipline. (BIA)



The Itesaf macaroni producing unit recently set up.

## NEW MACARONI FACTORY OPENED Govt. aid to private sector (By our Reporter Farooq)

The Itesaf macaroni production plant was inaugurated recently in Khoshal Malna area. The plant which has been set up by three private entrepreneurs with an initial investment of Af\$ two million and working capital of four million Af\$ has a daily production capacity of 200 kg of macaroni. It employs 40 workers in one shift.

Mohammad Mohean, a shareholder and manager of the factory said that in recent years private entrepreneurs have enjoyed allround support of the government of the DRA. Hence national entrepreneurs are encouraged to establish producti-

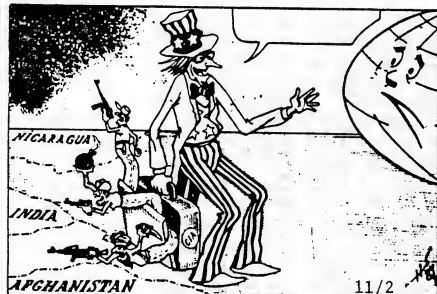
on units to develop the economy.

Apart from tax and customs duty exemption the government has assisted the factory with power supply and raw materials, he continued.

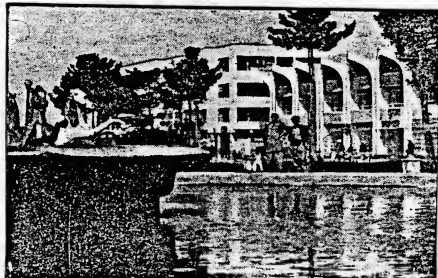
Now the factory is functioning in Khoshal Malna area but the government has given a plot of land for the construction of the factory in Pulecharki industrial estate. The share holders of the company have planned to construct a factory for manufacturing water and oil tanks and also a confectionery factory with a daily production capacity of 3000 to 3500 kg of sweets adjacent to the factory, he added.

NOVEMBER 5, 1987

10/18



Uncle Sam: I don't interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.



A view of the guest house for repatriates in Herat city. (Photo by Reza)

11/17

## THE CARAVAN TO BAJGAH VALLEY

The atmosphere was filled with the roar of vehicles and commands. A caravan of Afghan army units was moving towards Band-i-Bagha.

The caravan passed slowly through Pulkhama city early in the morning, when the Pulkhama citizens just came out to greet the day. After crossing the city, the caravan picked up speed moving fast to Khinjan, but slowed down in the bazaars of Doshal and Khinjan to avoid accidents.

The caravan entered the crowded bazaar of Khinjan before noon and was guided by soldiers to the unpaved road to Andarab. After passing Khinjan, commanders of units gave the brief reports to the general commander of the caravan. Lunch was served and after few minutes technical checking of vehicles and equipment was conducted.

The caravan again resumed its forward movement with four columns and an officer in the lead to detect and clear the road of mines. Officers and soldiers were covered with dust.

Around 3 p.m. the caravan arrived at Balesh valley. It had arrived at its destination within the scheduled time.

Next day, the movement was reviewed and the political lessons conducted in several units.

The main task of the caravan was to ensure security in Bajgah, a vast lush green valley from where usually armed extremists used to open fire on convoys. The task was to destroy the nests of the armed extremists, establish peaceful conditions of work and living for the residents and render necessary material assistance to them.

With the help of the people, the security forces successfully carried out their assigned task for three consecutive days. The heroic soldiers and officers destroyed the strongholds of the enemy, one after another. The enemy fled to Yakawing valley, which is close to Bajgah.

During these three days, the publicity group of

the caravan talked to the people about the policy of national reconciliation and the draft constitution and helped peasants in their fields.

The security forces decided there to chase the enemy to Yakawing. It is a narrow valley which divides into three small valleys in its upper part. The security forces besieged the enemy and the infantry units mounted the offensive, while paratroops descended in the rear of the enemy.

The enemy had fortified in a strategically important point where they placed a 'Dasha' field machine gun which prevented the forward movement of our units. The place was protected by rocks and iron shells. But the capture of this point was a must.

After studying the geographical situation, a solution was found. There was another fort beside the stronghold of the enemy from where they could launch an assault on the enemy. But it was not so easy to free it of the extremists. Because it was at a distance and the way leading to it was under the enemy's control.

The task of capturing the enemy's stronghold was assigned to a unit led by Major Gulab. The unit had rich experience in combat and particular skill in tactical engagement. After receiving the command, Gulab decided to make a circle to the fort. It was a wise decision for the unit could be kept out of fire of the enemy who remained unaware of the situation. The way selected was a long and hard one, but the unit succeeded in its objective. The valor and staunchness of the officers and soldiers of the unit overcame the hardships, and they occupied the enemy's stronghold next day.

Soon after the occupation of the enemy position, the soldiers had their rest and food while the wireless brought the news of extraordinary promotion to the commander of the unit.

(By Captain Mohammad Yousaf) 11/2

## Afghan-Soviet scholars

### cooperate in folklore research

Friendship between Afghan and Soviet peoples established after the victory of the Great October Revolution opened new dimensions with the victory of the

April Revolution in Afghanistan. One of the spheres of this expanding friendship between the two nations has been cultural. Exchange of cultural delegations, participation in scientific co-

## KABUL (RIA)

A periodic session of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA was held on October 29 in Gulistan palace, RC headquarters, with Dr. Najibullah, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council in the chair.

To deepen and develop the process of national reconciliation, establish nationwide durable peace in the country, to prevent war and fratricide and to lay broader and more favourable conditions for the further democratization of the socio-economic and political life of the country, the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council endorsed after long and comprehensive discussions a law on the convening of the Loya Jirgah for approving the constitution and

electing the President.

According to the law endorsed, the Loya Jirgah would be held in Kabul in Qatu (November-December) this year.

Also to further realize the objectives of establishing universal peace, the following legislative documents were endorsed by the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council:

Amendment No. 3 to the civil law on giving custody of children whose parents have separated.

Amendment to annexure No. 1 of the law on the rights and privileges of the disabled and the bereaved families of martyrs of the April Revolution, for solving the problems of the families of state officials and contract employees who were executed without any sentence, of

a court in the early years of revolution, and whose pension has not been paid yet.

The extension of the period of decree No. 47 of the Presidium of the RC on pardoning those who have deserted military service till the termination of the second stage of ceasefire.

Amendment to chapter two, article 12 of the law on private investment by Afghan and foreign nationals in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Convention on the principle of activities of states in the research and the use of outer space, as well as the convention on the rescue and return of cosmonauts.

Amendment to Article 6 of the procedure of preparation and submission of legislative documents.

Regulation on the as-

essment of application for the establishment and registration of political parties.

A decree on the travel of citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan who are temporarily or permanently residing abroad due to various reasons and who are emigrants.

A decree on the abrogation of the regulation on the nationalized and collectivized properties, and properties having no owners and those which have been kept under state custody and revision of certain chapters of the law on properties of renaitates.

Annexure No. 1 to the law on military obligations of citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

A decree on the periodic promotions of medical employees of all ranks in the Academy of Medical Sciences of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The RC Presidium also considered the question of pardon of prisoners, and after detailed discussion, pardoned the remaining prison terms of seven prisoners and reduced the terms of a number of others. 11/1

## NEW-MINISTERIAL

### APPOINTMENTS ANNOUNCED

KABUL, OCT. 31 (RIA) Based on the proposal of the Council of Ministers and with the approval of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA the following

appointments have been made in the Council of Ministers.

Mohammad Kabol as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and the chairman of the State Planning Committee, Mohammad Zang

Kawa as the Minister of Mines and Industries, Nabihullah Masar as the Minister of Industries and foodstuffs; Leander Ahmad Lemas as the general president of the Customs House.

BESIDE OTHERS, YOUR ASSISTANCE IS SALIENT WITH THE  
ETERNAL HEROISM DISPLAYED BY YOUR INTERNATIONALISTIC  
SOLDIERS IN THE SOIL OF AFGHANISTAN. OUR PEOPLE WILL PRE-  
SERVE IN THEIR HEARTS FOR CENTURIES THEIR DEEP GRATITUDE  
FOR THE SOVIET SOLDIERS WHO HAVE RESCUED THOUSANDS OF  
CHILDREN, WOMEN AND OLD MEN FROM SANGUINARY DEATH  
AND THE COUNTRY ITSELF FROM INEVITABLE DESTRUCTION.

(DR. NAJIBULLAH)

ferences, seminars, symposiums, and other activities have played a great role in investigating the relations.

Shamsuddin Zarif Siddiqi, director of Afghan Folklore Fund wrote in 1980 a research article in this connection, entitled 'Reflection of traditional relations between Afghanistan and Soviet Union in the literature of last century'. The article was published in 'Folklore' magazine, organ of the Ministry of Education.

Since then tens of articles, interviews and discussions by Zarif Siddiqi on literary and cultural relations between the countries have appeared in the mass media. In the first international symposium on recognition of folklore sponsored in

Kabul in 1984 by the State Committee for Culture, Shidqi stressed on the effectiveness of cultural cooperation between Afghan and Soviet scholars in the sphere of popular culture.

His numerous articles on cultural relations of the two peoples have been carried in the Soviet press as well including 'Literature and industry' of Uzbek SSR and the Moscow magazine 'Music'. Afghan Folklore Fund has been established

under the State Committee for Culture. After the establishment of Fuzuli Institute of Soviet Union scholars of Soviet Ministry of Culture and Dr. Bahram Shermohammadi paid visits to Afghanistan. Later the scientific articles of Soviet scholars appeared in 'Farhang-i Mardom' (people's culture) magazine. With the cooperation of Zarif Siddiqi, Dr. Daddan Abedov compiled a work entitled 'sheaves from Afghan folk humor'. Thanks to the cooperation of Afghan and Soviet scholars, a book on people's culture has been jointly prepared by Afghan and Soviet scholars for publication.

## New archaeological finds

Afghan archaeologists in their fifth round of exploration of Marjanjan Hill of Kabul, have recently unearthed new finds in the biggest and central steps of the hill.

A spokesman of the Archaeological Center of the Academy of Sciences of the DRA, reports that four stone boxes which are decorated and 8 copper coins are important among the finds which bring to light new information on the historical ruins of the ancient hill.

The spokesman went on to say: "The boxes contain miniature patterns belonging to 4th-6th century A.D. The largest stone is 30 cm. high and 11 cm. wide. A silver figure representing a stupa of a Buddhist shrine and a small golden casket for sacred things are inside this case. It also contains two manuscripts. Archaeologists are intensively studying and analysing the new finds" 11/10

# "Migratory birds"

— Script: Eng. Latif and Sawwar Anwari.  
— Photography: Qadir Tahiri

Cast: Wali Talash, Asanullah, Aram, Adela, Adem, Qadir, Farukh, Habib Zargai, Paez, Khurshid, Sabour, Tofan, etc.

"Migratory Birds" a new color 35mm. Afghan feature film, was screened on October 10 in the House of Soviet Science and Culture in Kabul. The production is an outcome of the hard work of the director and crew. It reflects the everyday realities of present Afghanistan.

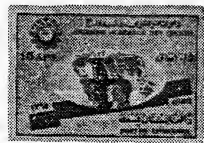
The first scene of the film shows the real cause of the migration of our compatriots. Later, some interesting shots of a pastoral wedding party. The groom is a soldier at a border post. But a villain, another suitor who courts the girl for a long time, kills the soldier ruthlessly, and then straight away flees the country. Father of the groom goes abroad and chases the killer to take revenge for the death of his son and to bring back the bride. The camera then focuses on the miserable life in the camps, enmity among different armed groups, grounds for military training in the vicinity of the camps, killings, terror and fear.

The film under review portrays the transferring and smuggling of arms by the extremist groups through impenetrable passes and their fights over the distribution of arms and money. Nawab is the ringleader of an extremist group, who infiltrates into the country from abroad. As a result of an insight in his group, he kills two of his deputies. Later, a fight breaks out between this group and another, each trying to obtain more armaments. After gruesome killings, bloody clashes, burning and war, the extremist groups realize the futility of their war.

In spite of some technical shortcomings, the film depicts the heartening social and political issues of our country at this moment.

"Migratory Birds", entered to an International Film Festival held this year in Moscow, earned for its director an honorary certificate and a prize of the Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

10/15



## New stamps

11/14

The postal department of the Ministry of Communications has brought out four coloured stamps of

Af 3,5,7,15 denominations which are on sale from today.



A still from "Migratory Birds".

(Photo by Yusuf)

## Women's club helps economic emancipation

The women's club of the first precinct organized 123 housewives in cutting and tailoring courses last year. After graduation they were introduced to various State and private institutions for employment.

Now the club has 160 members, almost all of whom are busy with tailoring, weaving, embroidery, cutting, needle work and household management.

To help the families of the martyrs of revolution and other poor women, this year the club set up

peace tents three times. Through these essential goods were distributed to deserving families. Also, 22 housewives received job in State and private institutions.

The club was established in 1963. Its main purpose is to mobilize the toiling women in socio-economic activities and raise their professional skills. The club has two primary residential organizations where women solve their family and economical problems.

During the current year the club has also established two residential cour-

ses in tailoring. Forty-five housewives attend these courses. Also, during this period a cutting, course has been established in Alasha-Durani lycee. Fifty-nine students and staff of the lycee are enrolled in the course. Teaching is conducted by experienced teachers.

The club put on display several times some of its handicrafts in the exhibitions of Amani and Alasha-Durani lycees and youth organisations. The club also displayed two graphic sewings in the exhibition that was inaugurated

on the occasion of the 9th Women's Congress in Moscow city. One of the graphic sewings was decorated with the symbol of "Peace and Friendship among Peoples" and the other with "We do not allow Nuclear War" showing the picture of a woman with her child. The two works attracted the attention of most spectators and were sold at very high price.

The women's club of the first precinct also runs 7 literacy courses where 115 housewives have got an opportunity to study.

Last year, 20 graduates of the literacy courses were introduced to functional schools and higher education.

There are about 160 such clubs all over the country. Almost all the clubs are running courses such as tailoring, cutting, machine work, needle work, weaving, literacy campaign, carpet making, sports, typing, make-up, household affairs, etc. Most the members of the club solve their economic problems through selling the products of their clubs.

## NAJIBULLAH SPEAKS:

To the Jirga on 11/29

"Today," he said, "it is our sacred internationalist obligation and national and patriotic duty, by means of concrete achievements in implementing the national reconciliation policy, to expedite the return of the Soviet limited military contingent to their homeland."

NYT 11/30

And after his election (NYT 12/2):

In his acceptance speech on Monday, he said someone had come to him and asked, "How should I call you from now on, Najibullah?"

Comrade, he said, meaning a brother in arms, has been proudly used by party members. But, he went on "the state does not oblige the people of Afghanistan to use it because in our language there are many, many kind and affectionate forms of address."

Some diplomats had speculated that he might give up the position when he assumed the presidency as a gesture toward a true coalition government.

"If I now refrained from my task as general secretary, it would mean that I do not have full gratitude toward my party and my comrades who have expressed such confidence in me," he explained.

Asked what would happen if Soviet troops left, Mr. Najibullah said: "You are right to be concerned, we are concerned too, and so are our friends."

LA Times 12/1

"This is not a socialist, revolutionary country," Najibullah said in his speech. "We do not want to build a Communist society."

("We are interested in conducting a high-level, international conference on the normalization of the political situation around Afghanistan, with the participation of the Soviet Union and the United States," Najibullah was quoted as saying.)



# RC decree on Loya Jirgah

## TEXT OF DECREE ON EMIGRANTS' VISITS HOME

The policy of national reconciliation has successfully opened its way among the different strata and classes of the people and won their support and approval. To ensure the further growth of this humanitarian policy, stop war and fratricide and establish durable and countryside peace in our beloved homeland, the glorious and historical Afghanistan, the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, endorsed, in its recent session, the law on the convening of the Loya Jirgah, the highest manifestation of the will of our people.

The law and a decree issued on it are presented below.

**Decree of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA endorsing the law on the convening and activity of Loya Jirgah.**

The Presidium of the Revolutionary Council endorses, as per the Article 44 of the Fundamental Principles of the DRA:

**Article 1:** The law on the convening and activity of the Loya Jirgah is endorsed in six articles.

**Article 2:** According to the provisions of this law, the Loya Jirgah will be held only to endorse the constitution and elect the President.

The future convocation and activity of Loya Jirgah will take place in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

**Article 3:** This decree is enforced from the date of its publication and shall be published in the official gazette.

**Najibullah, President of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.**

**The Law on the convocation and activity of the Loya Jirgah:**

**Article 1:** The Loya Jirgah shall be held in Qau, 1366 (Nov. 22 - Dec. 11) in Kabul city, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

**Article 2:** The following issues shall be submitted to Loya Jirgah for discussion and decisions:

1. Endorsement of the constitution;  
2. Election of the President.

**Article 3:** The following persons shall attend the Loya Jirgah as members:

1. Members of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA;  
2. Members of the Council of Ministers of the DRA;

3. Members of the Supreme Court of the DRA;  
4. Attorney General of the DRA and his assistants;  
5. Members of the executive committee of the National Front of the DRA;

6. Heads of provincial committees of National Front of the DRA and committees equivalent to them as well as the heads of commissions for national reconciliation of provinces and their equivalents;

7. Ten to thirty persons from the political parties;

8. Ten persons from the following social organizations:

a. Trade Unions of Afghanistan;  
b. Union of Peasants' Cooperatives;  
c. Democratic Youth Organisation of Afghanistan;

d. Afghanistan Women's Councils;  
e. Association of Lawyers of the DRA;

f. Union of Journalists of the DRA;

g. Writers' Association of the DRA;

h. Union of Artists of the DRA;

i. Union of Craftsmen of the DRA;

9. Members of the Supreme Commission for National Reconciliation;

10. Heads of executive committees of councils of people's deputies of provinces and their equivalents;

11. One representative from a city and centres of provinces and their equivalents, and one representative from every district in the cities which have precinct administration.

12. Heads of NF executive committees' of precincts of Kabul city, as well as the heads of commissions for national reconciliation of precincts of Kabul city;

13. Members of the constitution drafting committee and its working committee;

14. Ten persons from the Jirgah of tribes and other groups of the DRA;

15. Ten persons from the Jirgah of nomads;  
16. Ten persons from the Jirgah of working people of the national economy;

17. Ten persons from the High Council of Ule-

ma and Clergy of the DRA.

18. Academicians and candidate academicians;  
19. Ten persons from the economic consultative council of the DRA;

20. Heroes of the DRA and work heroes of the DRA;

21. One hundred and fifty persons from the armed forces of the DRA;

22. One representative introduced by the Jirgahs of representatives of districts and sub-districts.

**Article 4:** State organs, political parties and social organisations shall submit to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA in seven days the list of individuals who would take part in the Loya Jirgah according to the provisions of article 3 of this law.

**Article 5:** (I) Before the election of the President, the Loya Jirgah shall be inaugurated and its sessions organised by the President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA and or by the deputy chairman of the Loya Jirgah who shall be elected in the first session of the Loya Jirgah.

(II) The National Front of the DRA and political parties shall nominate their candidates to the next of the President, and submit to the Loya Jirgah the decisions of their central organs in this regard.

(III) The President shall be elected by majority of votes of the members given in open election.

**Article 6:** This law is enforced from the date of its publication in the official gazette.

11/5

Dr. Armand Hammar, prominent American Businessman and social personality, who had important discussions in Kabul with Com. Dr. Najibullah, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council, and other leaders took pressmen before he left yesterday that he was very much satisfied with his visit and had great hope for peace for Afghanistan. He said he will continue his efforts in the direction of achieving peace.

To acquaint those countrymen who have been away from the homeland for a long period, with the real internal situation of the country, to revive their love for the homeland, remove misunderstanding, doubts and hesitation and to provide facilities for them to visit their relatives and friends inside the country, the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan endorses the following on the travel to the country of citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, who are temporarily or permanently settled abroad due to different reasons and are living as emigrants:

**Article 1:** Scholars and scientific and technical cadres, students regardless of their age and sex, women, men, children, adolescents and the youth who have temporarily or permanently settled abroad due to different reasons before January 15, 1987 and are living as emigrants can travel to the country with the passport of the state of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and if they wish, return to their desired country.

**Article 2:** Military service postponement cards shall be given to the citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

**Article 3:** In case of termination of the validity of their passports inside the country, their passports shall be renewed.

**Article 4:** This decree is enforced from the date of its endorsement.

**Najibullah, President of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.**

stan, described in Article No. 1 of this decree, who are liable to do military service for a period of six months beginning from the date of their entry to the country. These individuals may return, on their own wish, to their desired country.

**Article 2:** The citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan who would return to the country as per the provisions of this decree, shall enjoy the rights and privileges granted in the decrees of pardon issued by the state of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

**Article 4:** Political agencies and consulates of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan abroad are obliged to issue passports to Afghan citizens according to Article 22 of the law on passports of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and or to extend the validity of the passports in their possession.

In case of termination of the validity of their passports inside the country, their passports shall be renewed.

This decree is enforced from the date of its endorsement.

**Najibullah, President of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.**

NOVEMBER 1, 1987



Comrade Dr. Najibullah meeting Dr. Armand Hammar. (Photo: Bakhtiar)

## Com. Dr. Najibullah receives Armand Hammar

Comrade Dr. Najibullah, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council and RC Presidium received yesterday in his office in the headquarters of the RC Dr. Armand Hammar prominent American business-

man and social figure. Comrade Dr. Najibullah spoke about the policy of national reconciliation, its achievements in the past and the future of Afghanistan and recent developments in the country.

Dr. Armand Hammar extolled the measures taken under the leadership of Comrade Dr. Najibullah for cessation of war and bloodshed in the DRA. He also wished immediate success of the humanitarian measures.

OCTOBER 15, 1987

# RC Presidium meets

## Text of law on registration of political parties

### New laws endorsed

A session of the RC Presidium of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was held yesterday at Gulikhan Palace, the RC headquarters.

The following legislative documents were endorsed at the session. Addendum No. 1 to the law on military service, law on the rights and privileges of scientific cadres of universities and faculties of the armed forces of the DRA, addendum No. 2 to the law on rights and privileges of the wounded, handicapped and bereaved families of martyrs of April Revolution.

The decree of the RC Presidium of the DRA on granting coupons to employees, workers and service personnel who have been enlisted in the ranks of the military for more than one month, law on chambers of commerce and industries of the DRA, law on administrative affairs of non-communist officers of the armed forces of the DRA and law on land relations management were also endorsed in the session.

For expanding and consolidation of international relations of the DRA.

The RC Presidium endorsed a decree on establishment of DRA missions in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Austria. The decree approving the joining by the DRA of the charter of the Centre of bio-technology and genetics.

The RC Presidium passed a resolution conferring badges and medals of the DRA on a number of army personnel, revolution soldiers and construction brigades of the DVOA organisation of the DRA Polytechnic Institute.

The session also discussed pardoning and reduction of the terms of imprisonment of a number of prisoners. It remitted the remaining terms of imprisonment of 18 prisoners, results of Herat and Badkhis provinces. The terms of imprisonment of seven prisoners were reduced and the fines of another seven prisoners waived.

The RC Presidium also discussed a number of organizational and local and foreign issues and adopted necessary decisions.

(BIA)

We carried in yesterday's issue the decree of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council on the endorsement of the regulation on the assessment of applications for establishment and registration of political parties. Given below is the text of the regulation.

**Chapter One: General Provisions.**

**Article 1:** This regulation is the assessment to manage the assessment of applications on the formation and registration of political parties.

**Article 2:** Assessment of applications on the establishment and registration of political parties is carried out by the department of political parties of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.

**Article 3:** The department of political parties shall have the following duties:

1. Receipt of applications from political parties on the establishment of political parties and studying them as per the provisions of Article 8 of the law on political parties.

2. Receipt of applications of founding groups on registration of rules of political parties for whose formation was issued certification by the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.

3. Preparation of reports about a court verdict on the dissolution of a political party.

4. Preparation and submission of documents on the said issues to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.

**Article 4:** Assessment of applications of founding groups and proposals of the department of political parties and adoption of decisions on the subject shall be carried out by the sections of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council.

**Chapter Two: Methods of assessment of applications on the formation and registration of political parties:**

**Article 5:** The application for the formation of a political party, together with other necessary documents, shall be submitted in a written form to the department of political parties of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.

**Article 6:** An application submitted, if it conforms with the law on political parties, shall be registered after assessment, in the book for registration of applications on formation of political parties. The department

of political parties shall organize, as following the assessment of applications received in one month's time:

— It shall assess, the conformity of the documents submitted by the founders with the fundamental principles and the laws of the DRA;

— Shall identify the founders;

— Shall control the reliability of other facts which are of significance in making the application.

The terms of assessment shall be extended for 15 additional days, by the Secretary of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA at the request of the head of the department of political parties.

**Article 8:** The department of political parties shall submit the results of the assessment, along with its own views, to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council for adopting a decision.

**Article 9:** The Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA shall consider the applications of founders and conclusions drawn by the department of political parties in less than one month's time. And if there exists any reason, it may send them back to the department of political parties for completing their assessment. The terms of all assessments and adoption of decision must not exceed the period specified in Article 10 of the law on political parties.

**Article 10:** While assessing an application, a representative and/or representatives of founders shall attend the session of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA for giving explanations.

**Article 11:** Decision of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA on the application of founders would be final. And it shall be communicated to the founders in three days' time, and be sent to the department of political parties for registration.

**Article 12:** A political party shall submit, as per Article 11 of the law on political parties, to the department of political parties its rules in four months after obtaining the permission for its formation.

The department of political parties shall register, after the permission of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council,

the rules submitted in the restriction book of political parties and hand over a certificate of the registration to the leading body of the political party.

The activity of a political party is permitted after the date of the registration of the rules and obtaining the certificate of registration.

**Article 13:** Registration of political parties, which had carried out open and/or underground activities before the endorsement of the law on political parties, shall also take place according to the provisions of Article 12 of this regulation.

**Article 14:** In case an application on the registration of the rules is not submitted in four months, which has been fixed in Article 11 of the law on political parties, permission for the formation of a political party, which shall be issued by the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council, shall lose its validity.

In this case, the group of founders shall submit again, after one year, an application for the formation of the party to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council. The application shall be assessed again according to the provisions of this regulation.

**Article 15:** In addition to the rules of a political party, following documents shall also be recorded in the (Annexure No. 2) of the registration book of political parties:

— Amendments to the rules, in case they are linked with the main aspects of activity of the political party;

— Amendment to general line or the platform of a political party;

— Amendment to the sources of finance of a political party;

— Other information the registration of which is regarded necessary by the department of political parties.

**Chapter Three: Dissolution of political parties and repealing registration.**

**Article 16:** A decision on the dissolution of a political party shall only be made by a court according to the reasons enshrined in the law on political parties.

A political party can be dissolved according to the provisions of the law if it is in violation of the provision of the Fundamental Principles and the laws of the DRA.

**Article 17:** Proposal on the dissolution of a political party shall be presented to the Presidium of

the Revolutionary Council by the Attorney-General of the DRA.

Article 18: After receiving the proposal and reasonable documents, from the Attorney General of the DRA and the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA shall assign a special judicial panel consisting of five judges for investigation.

**Article 19:** Judges of the Supreme Court and judges of the Special Revolutionary Court, in case of having membership in none of the political parties, shall be included in the special judicial panel. The Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA shall assign one of the judges as head of the judicial decision.

**Article 20:** In case the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council receives an appeal from the Attorney-General, or from the representative of the political party in rejecting the membership of all, and/or one or more judges, formation of new judicial panel or its reconstitution shall take place in accordance with the provisions of Article 18 of this regulation.

**Article 21:** Study of the proposal by the Attorney-General on the dissolution of a political party shall take place in accordance with the provisions of the law.

**Article 22:** Decision of the panel shall be made based on the majority of votes.

**Article 23:** Decision of the special judicial panel shall be final. The said decision shall be reviewed by another neutral judicial panel on the proposal on the attorney-general and/or on the request of the leadership of the political party and approval of the Presidium of the revolutionary council of the DRA.

**Article 24:** Despite having grounds for dissolving a political party, the court, keeping in view the remorse expressed and pledges made by the leadership of the political party for removing the violations and their non-recurrences, shall give lighter punishment, i.e., warning to the party, the removal of cash or fine of 200,000 to 500,000 Afghans. The punishment shall be recorded in the registration book.

**Article 25:** The department

Cont. on p. 36

## New appointments

KABUL, NOV. 25 (BIA) — On the proposal of the Council of Ministers and approval of the RC Presidium of the DRA, the following appointments have been made in the Council of Ministers.

Mohammad Aziz Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dr. Abdul Wahid Sarabi, Minister of Higher and Vocational Education, Mohammad Akbar Shumach, Minister of Nationalities.

NOVEMBER 26, 1967

## Ghulam Habib Nawabi dead



Ghulam Habib Nawabi

KABUL, NOV. 9 (BIA) — We have learnt with deep regret that Ghulam Habib Nawabi, known

as Kohdamani, poet, writer, researcher and experienced journalist died yesterday afternoon at the age of 70. He had been associated with the press and cultural activities since his young days.

He was buried in the Khairkhana Mensa graveyard. His family relatives and friends and office bearers of Journalists' Union, and Writers' Association attended the funeral.

The Journalists' Union has condoned the demise of Ghulam Habib Nawabi.

11/10

## ITEMS FROM BAKHTAR



10/5 - Scores of local people were coming from the other parts of Khwaja Sabr Push District in Faryab Province. The children were seeking to find a proper place in the rows of people who were waiting to say welcome to the armed group who declared its decision to join the process of nat'l reconciliation. On that day the district was unusually crowded. People were impatiently looking to the point from where the armed men were proceeding to join the revolutionary sovereignty. At last, moments of patience & waiting ended. A shadow appeared in the desert - 5,000 armed men riding on horses were now standing before the rows of people. As a tradition a sheep was slaughtered to welcome the armed men. Tears of happiness filled everyone's eyes. The armed & local people embraced each other.

11/1 - Don't cook more than you can eat! This Persian proverb might answer the recent statement made by 7 Afghan counter-revolutionary groups, entrenched in Pakistan, who have "allied" to claim a sole right to govern a future Afghanistan. Not the 1st instance of wishful thinking on the part of Afghan counter-revolutionaries. But it has nothing to do with the actual state of affairs in the country. The facts are that, since the beginning of this year, 1,600 villages have come over to the gov't which now controls 8,500 villages, 45 towns & 214 subdistricts. The provinces of Farah & Nemroze were wiped clean of bandit gangs & declared "Zones of Peace" by their residents. Another Zone of Peace will be declared in Hazarajat which is made up of 5 provinces, 30 subdistricts & over 7,000 villages. In view of the fact that the ruling PDPA controls a vast area where the bulk of the population is concentrated, the logical question is whom do the Pakistan-entranced "Alliance of the 7" represent? The PDPA has no intentions of turning power over to anybody...but it is prepared to share power with some representatives of the opposition who have been offered premiership & vice-presidency among other prestigious posts. This attests that the PDPA & its 185,000 members are sure of where they stand & of popular support... Leaders of the "Alliance" who want the fratricidal war in Afghanistan continued are increasingly isolated from the people. This process will snowball due to PDPA efforts to expand contacts with the commanders of armed groups within the country & without. The PDPA policy of compromises offers the only way to an early political settlement. The irreconcilables risk becoming life-long exiles in Pakistan.

10/15 - The aggregate time of subversive broadcasting to Afghanistan by dozens of radio stations amounts to 110 hours/day, this index having risen 50% since 1978... showing that Afghanistan, which is involved in a ferocious undeclared war, is also a target of broad ideological aggression. A pretty good sum of money went to establish the Afghan News Service which publicizes terrorist gangs & their armed raids... America's King Features News Syndicate is

responsible for that project... To conduct psychological warfare in Afghanistan proper, special teams of well-trained & equipped personnel have been formed. They have printing machines, radio stations, tele-types & duplication facilities at their disposal. Various Afghan counter-revolutionary groupings account for 70 newspapers, magazines & weeklies coming out in Pakistan, Iran, USA, West Germany, Italy & Britain in Dari, Pushto, English & Arabic. Provocative...films are being illegally shot in Afghanistan... & shown in the West. Disguised as Afghan & Soviet soldiers, Afghan rebels pretend to massacre the civil population before the camera.

11/28 - At the threshold of the Loya Jirgah (Grand Assembly), Kabul City, the cradle of the national democratic April Revolution, is decorated with national & state banners, patriotic slogans & portraits of the Afghan national leaders & is illuminated with colored bulbs... Kabul residents watch in each nook & corner of the city the large portraits of the Afghan national leaders who played a significant role in safeguarding the political independence & nat'l sovereignty of Afghanistan & through their heroic struggles saved the country from the British colonial yoke. A commemorative monument was opened here today in honor of a Loya Jirgah which was convened in Kandahar City in 1747.



To welcome Loya Jirgah, the Kabul citizens have installed pictures of the prominent national figures in various parts of Kabul city and decorated it.

The pictures show King Amrullah and Wazir Akbar Khan leaders of people's struggle against British colonialism.

KNT

11/29



Don't miss any of this; renew promptly!

PARTY LAW

Cont. from p. 35

tment of political parties shall report, in one month's time, its decision on dissolution of a political party, and its reasons, to the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA and, after gaining the permission from the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council, record in the registration book (Annexure No. 2) the dissolution of the party keeping in view the court verdict.

Chapter Four: Final provisions:

Article 28: The Supreme Court shall provide material and technical supply to the special judicial panel as well as the preservation of charge sheets which are investigated by the special judicial panel.

# CHRONOLOGY

10/8 - BIA - The DRA protested to Pakistan that 16 reporters spent 3 days in "the border regions of Paktia Prov... This artificially journalistic visit was organized by Jamiat-e-Islami." The DRA considers the illegal entry of foreign citizens, "the objective of which is nothing but deception of public opinion..., as an explicit violation of the governing norms of inter-state relations & as gross interference in internal affairs."

10/10 - Kayhan Int'l (London) - Qandahar citizens demonstrated after 3 Afghan traders were murdered by Soviet troops looting their shops in mid-September. 200 protesters were arrested & all businesses have been on strike since 9/18.

10/11 - BIA - The armed forces of the DRA Ministries of Defense, Interior & State Security were authorized to buy "at specific prices," arms & ammunition from "those groups & individuals who have stopped their military operations against the people's sovereignty." The DRA will buy many kinds of weapons, including Stingers, & the deals can be made secretly.  
- The DRA protested to the UK that some BBC journalists, visiting Kabul, illegally entered a military area in Qargha on 10/9 & took pictures of DRA military installations.

10/14 - Afghan News #22 - Jamiat denied a report in the Pakistan Daily Muslim that Cdr. Masood had shifted his base from Panjshir to Badakhshan. Masood has expanded his operations and for security reasons cannot stay permanently in one place.

10/18 - BIA - The 2nd nationwide PDPA Party Conference opened in Kabul.

10/24 - BIA - This year UN agencies have given the DRA \$13m: UNDP - \$7½m; FAO \$2½m; UNICEF - ca. \$1½m; UN Fund - ca. \$½m. The new 5-year plan calls for ca. \$70m worth of UN assistance.



KNT 10/18

10/27 - BIA - Members of the Afghan Milat (Nation) Organization met with Najibullah to discuss "Nat'l Reconciliation." Abdul Hamid Yasin Yusufzai, a member of the group, expressed the organization's willingness to cooperate.

10/28 - BIA - During the next 5 years the DRA Ministry of Irrigation & Water Projects will spend Afs. 7 thousand million on repairing irrigation systems in Afghanistan.

- NYT - Two US film makers were killed on 10/11 in fighting near Kabul (see p. 21).

10/29 - Hong Kong Standard - Afghan authorities arrested French journalist Alain Guillo in northern Faryab Prov. (see 12/22).

- Afghan News #22 - Mujahideen of the Supervisory Council of the North captured the Keran garrison in Badakhshan which had been in DRA hands since 1981.

10/30 - NYT - Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, Chief of the Soviet General Staff, said that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was not a mistake but that the Soviets are now in favor of a troop withdrawal.



11/1 - NYT - In a poll conducted in the USSR by French & Soviet researchers, using Western polling standards, 53% of the respondents favored the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan; 27% were opposed.

11/2 - Insight - The US Senate recently approved a measure ordering the State Dept. to appoint an ambassador-at-large on Afghanistan. The position would exist until the USSR withdraws its troops completely, Afghanistan becomes independent & the refugees return. The

proposal, a rider attached to a funding bill, must survive a Conference Committee effort to reconcile the Senate bill with an appropriation passed by the House.

11/6 - NYT - Stingers have a "kill ratio" of about 80% against Soviet aircraft in Afghanistan.

11/9 - UN Press Release (GA/7563) - Syria & Democratic Yemen introduced an amendment to the annual UNGA resolution on Afghanistan asking the UNGA to call for the "strict observance of the principle of non-interference in relation to Afghanistan" & to welcome the progress made at the Geneva talks. Pakistan then introduced 2 sub-amendments pointing out that non-interference had been violated by the continuing presence of Soviet troops & that the Geneva talks demanded a time frame for withdrawal. (The Syria/Yemen amendment was defeated so a vote on the sub-amendments was unnecessary (see 11/11)).

11/11 - NYT - The UNGA voted 123 to 19 (with 11 abstentions) for the resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

11/13 - Jihad News (NIFA) of 11/22 - Cdr. Rahim Wardak launched an offensive in Khas Kunar Prov. The front extends from Khas Kunar in the southwest to Shinkorak in the northeast along both sides of the Kunar River.

- LA Times - Islamic Alliance leader Yunis Khalis met with Pres. Reagan. Reagan did not promise to recognize the alliance as a gov't in exile but he did promise more sophisticated weapons for the resistance. ↓

11/18 - NYT - A Soviet spokesman said at a news conference in Munich that a Soviet pullout from Afghanistan could take place in 7-12 months if a formula for "nat'l reconciliation" could be worked out. But in Moscow a Soviet spokesman said the Soviet position was unchanged:

According to the American in Geneva, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Yuli M. Vorontsov, has seemed haunted by the parallels between the Soviet predicament in Afghanistan and the American experience in Vietnam. He keeps making statements like, "We're not going to have a solution that leaves us with our last people leaving Kabul on the struts of helicopters," the American said.

This reflects a Soviet preoccupation with the creation of an interim Afghan government that can prevent what the Russians fear would otherwise be a bloodbath by guerrillas against Afghan officials who have served in the Soviet-backed regime, headed by Najibullah.

Consequently, the Russians have urged that the Afghan Communists - the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan - form the core of a transitional government, holding the key cabinet posts. The Afghan guerrillas have refused to consider sharing power with people they consider collaborators.

Diplomats close to the situation are said to have told the Russians that once Moscow sets an acceptable withdrawal schedule, the United States and Pakistan may be prepared to press the guerrillas on an interim government.

Some American officials have said that with a timetable in hand, the United States would probably begin discussions with guerrilla leaders about a compromise. A Pakistani official said that because of growing public resentment in Pakistan to attacks by Afghanistan on Afghan guerrillas on Pakistani territory, the Islamabad Government would probably feel considerable pressure to push the guerrillas to agree on a political compromise to get the Soviet troops out.

On the other hand, Moscow has insisted privately that an agreement on an interim government must precede the setting of a timetable. And one diplomat said he thought the Russians would agree to a shorter timetable if it became clear than a suitable interim government could be formed.

"I don't think the Russians are going to start with a timetable," a diplomat said, "unless they see movement toward an interim government that will make sure that a massacre doesn't happen."



11/21 - LA Times - Abdul Wali, a 50-year-old Afghan millionaire who lives in Malibu & Amsterdam, was convicted by a Federal Court in Trenton, NJ, for conspiring to smuggle hashish in order to finance anti-Soviet rebels in Afghanistan.

11/22 - In Delhi, during the visit of Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov for the opening of a Soviet festival, Indian authorities detained 120 Afghan refugees who were protesting. Another 170 Afghans were put under house arrest.

- NYT - Soviet veterans of the Afghan war have started a nationwide organization to combat official neglect. Official approval for a national memorial in Moscow has already been given. The organization is also asking for an end to discrimination against disabled veterans (see p.20) in housing & employment & for better pensions for families of those killed.

Afghanistan veterans also complain that they do not receive all of the privileges accorded soldiers who served in World War II. Like veterans of earlier conflicts, Afghanistan veterans are entitled to a better choice of vacation times from their employers, easier entry into universities, and priority in getting telephones. But they are not guaranteed access to the special, better-supplied stores that serve older veterans.

11/24 - NYT - Najibullah's younger brother Sidiq defected to Masood's forces about a week ago, according to unconfirmed reports:

Mr. Sidiq is reported to lack the ambition and seriousness of his older brother, said a childhood Afghan acquaintance, and is not believed to have been active in the regime.

Mr. Sidiq's defection coincides with reports attributed to Communist Party circles in Kabul that the Russians may be preparing a withdrawal of up to one-third of their troops between February and April of next year.

Some high-ranking and mid-level Afghan party officials are meeting clandestinely with the Afghan resistance rebels to position themselves for a post-Soviet era, according to American intelligence reports. Some party officials are also said to be sending large sums of money to the West and enrolling their children in overseas schools in preparation for a possible Soviet pull-out.

11/27 - NYT - A Jamiat-i-Islami spokesman confirmed the defection of Sidiq & his wife. PDPA member Sidiq was a VP of a gov't-run bank. He is now in the Panjsher Valley.

11/27 - PT - Diego Cordovez will visit Kabul & Islamabad in mid-December to discuss "substances" for a new round of Geneva talks. He is to meet with various Afghan groups in both places in an effort to promote the formation of a transitional gov't. (See 12/12)

11/28 - BIA - A cooperation protocol between the party magazines of the DRA & Czechoslovakia was signed in Prague.

- New private sector projects in raising cleaning, plastic bag & carton making, carpet weaving & confectionaries, with a capital of Afs. 11m were announced by Najibullah Masir, Min. of Light Industries & Foodstuffs.

11/29 - BIA - New acronyms: ROWPA = Revolutionary Organization of the Working People of Afghanistan; OWA = Organization of the Working People of Afghanistan. - NYT - John Kifner writes from Kabul that Western diplomats say the USSR's intervention in Afghanistan is at a crucial stage. There is a growing sense of disillusionment with Najibullah as the most difficult type of ally - one who is politically & militarily weak but who is determined to act strong & independent. Najibullah has called a Loya Jirga tomorrow to adopt the new constitution & to have himself elected president. About 1,500 delegates, 2/3 of whom are party members, will attend.

11/30 - NYT - At the Great Assembly to adopt the new constitution, rocket explosions interrupted Najibullah's speech. The 1st rocket exploded less than a mile from the meeting hall.

In dramatic impromptu remarks that interrupted the careful staging of the event, Mr. Najibullah also acknowledged that the Islamic guerrillas are dominant in the countryside, and he confirmed that they controlled access to Khost, a strategic town on the Pakistani border.

"All the roads have been closed," Mr. Najibullah said. "Today, the enemy uses Stinger and Blowpipe missiles to prevent flights into the town."



-- LA Times

... Under the new constitution, the president will be commander in chief of the armed forces and have the authority to name the prime minister and one-third of the members of the national assembly.



11/30 - BIA - The new DRA constitution was adopted.

12/1 - NYT - Najibullah proposed a 12-month timetable for Soviet troop withdrawal as he assumed the office of President under the new constitution. He said his proposal had "already been negotiated with the Soviet side."

One delegate to the Jirgah, Esmatullah Muslim (see p. 18) got into a gunfight with security guards who refused to let him enter with his 5 body guards. Muslim escaped but 5 tribesmen & 3 soldiers were killed in the clash. (The LA Times reported that at least 12 people were killed.)

- NYT - Gorbachev on Afghanistan during his interview with Tom Brokaw

on NBC: Now, on Afghanistan. This is our neighbor country. Given all the regimes, we were always good neighbors....

After the well-known revolution in Afghanistan, where an attempt was made to make some internal reforms and to bring that society out of its ancient system — but that was a purely domestic process, so a different government came to power, but at the same time certain processes were building up connected with, first and foremost, interference from outside, in order to undermine that new regime. And they appealed to us, as to their neighbors, some say 11 times, others say 13 times.... And we did — meeting their desire, we introduced our limited Soviet contingent of troops, and have never increased it.

But we see that today that the situation does require some solutions. We are looking for ways to bring about an earliest — the prompt solution of that problem. And I believe that if the American administration really does sincerely want that problem to be resolved, to be closed by political means, it could be done very quickly.

Q. What is very quickly, within three months, six months?

A. I think we can talk with the President about that.

12/2 - NYT - Ronald Reagan responded: "The simple people of Afghanistan pose no threat to Soviet territory. They don't now. They never have." (See 12/4) - The US said Najibullah's proposal for a Soviet withdrawal was unacceptable.

The unacceptable conditions include a cutoff of American and Pakistani aid to the Afghan guerrillas and the creation of a coalition government of Afghan and insurgent officials before any withdrawal begins, the officials said. In addition, the proposal does not give a starting date for the withdrawal of the estimated 115,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan.



Najibullah

12/4 - PT - Yunis Khalis said that the only peaceful way to solve the Afghan issue is by direct talks between the USSR & the mujahideen. He said the UN-sponsored efforts will yield no result & he called Najibullah's Loya Jirga a futile exercise.

- Ronald Reagan on Gorbachev on Afghanistan:

Q. Would you assess for me your personal opinion of his truthfulness when he talked about Afghanistan and the extent and causes of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union?

A. Well, as I say, I have to believe that he believes their own propaganda. He grew up with this and hearing this.

Q. You believe that he believes that he has 115,000 troops in Afghanistan committing genocide almost daily simply because they were invited in there?

A. Well, you must remember that there were other leaders under which this happened. He inherited that. And those leaders are the ones who had created the puppet Government.

Now whether he knows that — to what extent they did that, I don't know. But I'm quite sure, on the other hand, that he feels comfortable with the idea that if they left Afghanistan that there would be a government similar to the Eastern-bloc nations in Afghanistan, not necessarily a government that was chosen by the people of Afghanistan.

Well, on our side, our job is to make him see that not only must their troops leave Afghanistan, but that the

people of Afghanistan, just as the people of Nicaragua, must have the right to determine the government that they're going to have in those countries and not simply accept the present stooges from the Communist world.

Q. There's a lot of talk, Mr. President, about you facilitating a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Would you, for example, make a commitment not to supply the anti-Government forces for a year, if the Soviets committed to get out of Afghanistan within that period of time?

A. I don't think we could do anything of that kind because the puppet government that has been left there has a military and it would be the same as what I'm arguing about with regard to the freedom fighters in Nicaragua.

You can't suddenly disarm them and leave them prey to the other government — and this is p-r-e-y, not p-r-a-y — that they — that, no — the people of Afghanistan must be assured of the right of all of them to participate in establishing the government they want, and that requires more than just getting his forces out of there.

12/5 - The Outlook (Santa Monica) - Reagan Administration officials said the the US "presumably" would stop providing support to the mujahideen once a Soviet troop withdrawal began. Under UN-established procedures the withdrawal would begin & support would cease 60 days after an agreement was signed.

- BIA - So far this year the Industrial Development Bank has extended Afs. 335m credit to the industrial sector, a 61% rise "compared to the targeted credit plan of the bank." Total credit extended last year was Afs. 630m of which Afs. 220m went to the state sector. The rest went to the private sector & cooperatives.

- Technical & cultural assistance to Afghanistan from the USSR from 1956-1979 was \$1,800m. From 1986-1991 Soviet assistance is targeted at \$790m. 75% of the aggregate industrial production in the DRA & 45% of the state revenue comes from economic projects built with Soviet assistance. Last year the USSR gave the DRA over Afs. 1b of gratis aid - foodstuffs & primary goods.

12/6 - PT - Yunus Khalis said that mujahideen fighting in Afghanistan would be united under a central command. He also hinted that his tenure as chairman of the 7-party Alliance might not be limited to 1½ years & that the Alliance would soon prepare an "Islamic draft" for a future gov't in Afghanistan. (See 12/7)

- BIA - A protocol between the Women's Council of Afghanistan & the Women's Union of Vietnam was signed.

- Ca. 10 tons of chicken, 3 tons of veal & "50,000 to 2,000 eggs are distributed thru 120 shops to the residents of Kabul every day." The distribution "provides the possibility of stability of prices during winter."

- Afghans abroad wishing to visit their relatives in Afghanistan should contact Afghan diplomatic missions abroad to extend the term of their passports & "to attain available forms." If the forms are unavailable at the missions, they will be provided at airports & border posts. (See p. 34.)

12/7 - LA Times - Yunus Khalis said the Alliance would not accept a co-alition gov't. "We will continue our jihad until we establish an Islamic gov't."

12/8 - PT - At a Peshawar rally, Gulbudin Hekmatyar said his group was not ready for a coalition gov't & that no one would be allowed to impose incompetent persons on Afghanistan as a symbol of nat'l unity.

12/9 - PT - The leaders of the European Community called for a Soviet troop withdrawal by the end of next year.

- NYT - Richard F. Stolz will head the CIA operations directorate which is responsible for Afghanistan.

- LA Times - Fierce fighting has caused heavy casualties & food shortages in Khost. Reports are that more casualties are being brought into Kabul than at any time during the war.



Frontier Post 8/11/87

12/10 - PT - The UNGA adopted the Human Rights resolution (see p. 17) by a vote of 93 to 23, with 31 abstentions. (Last year's vote was 89-24 with 36 abstentions.)

- NYCT - Reagan & Gorbachev discussed Afghanistan but no breakthrough was reported.



PRESIDENT REAGAN, checking his watch, with Mikhail Gorbachev in the White House's Oval Office yesterday.

12/11 - PT - A French Gov't financed report by Marek Sliwinski of Geneva Univ. stated that 1.24m Afghans have been killed since April 1978 (see p. 12).

12/12 - PT - Diego Cordovez met with ex-king Zahir Shah in Rome last week. He was also reported to have met with some mujahideen leaders in Geneva. He will fly to Moscow next week & to Kabul & Islamabad in January.

12/13 - PT - Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, visiting Pakistan, stressed the need for an early solution to the Afghan crisis "by restoring the erstwhile Islamic, neutral non-aligned status" to Afghanistan & enabling the Afghans to have a gov't of their choice.

12/14 - PT - A BBC correspondent who attended the Kabul Jirga said that all Afghans who returned home would have to join the army within 6 months of their return.

12/15 - NYT - The Reagan Administration feels that a tough stance by the US may force further compromises from the USSR on a troop withdrawal. The PT reports that US officials have assured the USSR that the US will stop supplying aid to the mujahideen once Moscow begins a troop pullout.

12/16 - PT - VOA reported that the Soviets have suffered from 30-40 casualties per day during the past few months. - Mujahideen rejected Najibullah's 12/12 offer of a cease-fire in Paktia Prov.

12/17 - BIA - The DRA nat'l gross product in 1986 was up 18% from 1982 (on the basis of 1978 prices); nat'l income was up 10%. From 1982-86 investment in "productive & social spheres" has risen from Afs. 12b to Afs. 22.7b. There are now 234 kindergartens in the DRA (up from 14 in 1979) with 21,741 children enrolled (up from 2,150 in 1979).

12/18 - PT - Fierce fighting continues in Maimana; reportedly half the town is in mujahideen hands & mujahideen have released hundreds of prisoners from Maimana prison.

12/19 - BIA - The tallest building in Kabul will open on the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution. Construction of the Afs. 691m building began in 1978. It will house the central post office & telecommunication facilities.  
- A 200-bed hospital was built in Herat with a \$10m credit from Iraq. The GDR assisted with \$93,000. 30 protocols have been signed between the GDR & the DRA.

12/20 - NYT - Lt. Gen. Shah Nawas, DRA Army Chief of Staff, is leading a major offensive in Khost against mujahideen from the Jadran tribe who have controlled the area for 9 years.

- Daily Breeze (Santa Monica) - The DRA released 351 political prisoners in Nangarhar, Kunar & Herat, according to Radio Kabul.

- BIA - At a recent session of religious leaders & scholars, the DRA reported that extremists have destroyed the historical museum at Hadda, the Najul Madrassa, the tomb of Akhundzada & the Hadda mosque. The mosque, the tomb & the madrassa will be restored.

12/21 - PT - The South Asian Assn. for Regional Cooperation, at its November meeting, turned down Najibullah's request to join the organization. SAARC will not accept Afghanistan until it regains its sovereignty & independence.

12/21 - PT - Soviet TV viewers saw a "dramatic televised report" of the DRA offensive in Khost - a 1st for Soviet TV.  
- BIA - Foreign trade with socialist countries rose from \$231.7m in 1979 to \$928.4m in 1987. DRA trade agencies were established in Prague, Hungary, the GDR & Kuwait. In another item Commerce Minister Moh'd Khan Jalalar gave the foreign trade figures as \$729m in 1979 & \$1016m in 1987.

12/22 - LA Times - Gorbachev reportedly told Reagan that as soon as the Soviet troops begin to withdraw they would stop fighting, except in self defense, according to US Under-Sec'y of State Michael Armacost.

/ The United States wants to know just what Gorbachev means by "self-defense," he said, because "there's a very high level of military activity generally in Afghan society and, therefore, if one is looking for an excuse [to resume fighting], then there's always an incident to which one can refer."

- NYT - A Soviet scholar disappeared in India causing Indian officials to search the houses of resident Afghans. [The scholar turned up in the Australian Embassy in Delhi trying to defect.]

- BIA - Najibullah will head a DRA delegation to Vietnam & Kampuchea in January. He will also stop in Delhi.

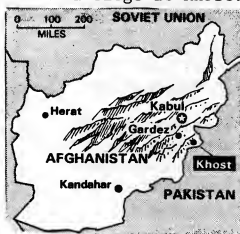
- Since 1/15/87 over 109,000 Afghans have returned home - 58,000 from Pakistan & 49,100 from Iran. Over 100,000 internal refugees have returned to their localities.

- The French charge d'affaires in Kabul visited Alain Guillo who was detained by DRA security forces for illegal entry into the DRA. (See 10/29)

12/23 - LA Times - The Soviets acknowledged that Soviet troops have been brought in to launch a major offensive to break a guerrilla siege at Khost.

The road from Gardez, 70 miles away, has been under tight guerrilla control, forcing the Afghan government and Soviet troops to send in supplies by air. In recent months, however, guerrillas supplied with American-made Stinger anti-aircraft missiles have threatened flights to the Khost airport, reducing the amount of goods delivered.

The conditions at Khost were discussed at a *loya jirga* (grand council) of Afghan tribal leaders in November and the government decided to give the region's Jadran tribe 20 days to decide whether to open the route. (See 12/16)



12/23 - BIA - Contracts for the delivery of petroleum products, "tar & other technical lubricants" were signed by the USSR & the DRA. The USSR will begin deliveries on 1/1/88.

12/24 - PT - Italian film maker Fausto Brucasland [sic] was seized by DRA militiamen in Laghman Prov. on 11/25. (See p.15)  
- Australia will give the World Food Program food aid worth \$4m for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. 20,000 tons of wheat will reach Pakistan in January.  
- NYT - More on the battle in Khost:

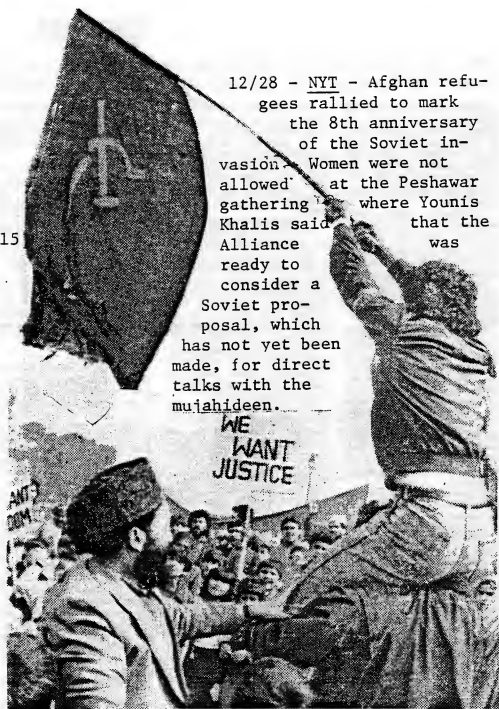
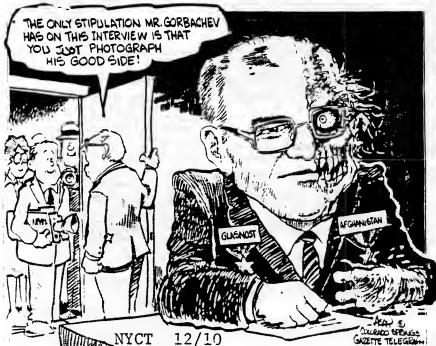
MOSCOW, Dec. 23 (AP) - The Soviet Union said today that more than 1,500 insurgents had been killed or wounded in a major offensive by Soviet and Afghan Government troops to end the siege of Khost, a garrison town near the Afghanistan-Pakistan border.

Gennady I. Gerasimov, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, gave a rare briefing on military operations at a regular news session for Soviet and foreign journalists.

He refused to say how many casualties the Soviet Union had suffered in the two-day-old operation. "We do not provide these figures," he said.

"The counterrevolutionaries have suffered heavy losses, more than 1,500 casualties," he said. "Major amounts of weaponry and ammunition have been captured, including 86,000 missiles in one village."

12/27 - NYT - Police in Moscow & Lenin-grad arrested 16 people for protesting the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan. One demonstrator, carrying a poster that said "Peace on Earth & in Afghanistan" was arrested for disturbing public order.



An Afghan refugee burning a Soviet flag during a rally yesterday in New Delhi to protest the continuing Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

12/28 - NYT - The DRA said it had broken the siege of Khost & that the 80-mile road between Gardez & Khost was open to normal traffic.

12/29 - NYT - The DRA says its troops killed 1,603 guerrillas in the battle for the road to Khost. Mujahideen denied the report & said that 1,500 Soviet paratroopers who landed in Khost 4 days ago were trapped there along with 20,000 DRA troops. DRA Lt. Gen. Moh'd Nabi Azimi said that an American adviser was killed in the fighting. Washington said there are no American advisers in Afghanistan.

"Let 1988 be the year of action, the year that will see the Soviet Union end once and for all its brutal occupation of Afghanistan."

Ronald Reagan 12/27

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM



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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Center <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AWSJ	- <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- <u>Christian Science Monitor</u>
DRA	- Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FEER	- <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>
FRG	- <u>Federal Republic of Germany</u>
IHT	- <u>International Herald Tribune</u>
KNT	- <u>Kabul New Times</u>
NFF	- National Fatherland Front
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- <u>New York Times</u>
NYCT	- <u>New York City Tribune</u>
OIC	- Organization of Islamic Conference
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO	- Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT	- <u>Pakistan Times</u>
RC	- <u>Revolutionary Council</u>
RTV	- Refugee Tent Village
SCMP	- <u>South China Morning Post</u>
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WDOA	- Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan
WSJ	- <u>Wall Street Journal</u>

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the  
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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